

*Origin and History
of
Seventh-day Adventists*

FRONTISPIECE

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As the disciples watched their Master slowly disappear into heaven, they were solemnly reminded of His promise to come again, and of His commission to herald this good news to all the world.



Origin and History
of
Seventh-day Adventists

VOLUME ONE

by

Arthur Whitefield Spalding

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD TO FIRST EDITION

THIS history, frankly, is written for "believers." The reader is assumed to have not only an interest but a communion. A writer on the history of any cause or group should have sufficient objectivity to relate his subject to its environment without distortion; but if he is to give life to it, he must be a confre. The general public, standing afar off, may desire more detachment in its author; but if it gets this, it gets it at the expense of vision, warmth, and life. There can be, indeed, no absolute objectivity in an expository historian. The painter and interpreter of any great movement must be in sympathy with the spirit and aim of that movement; it must be his cause. What he loses in equipoise he gains in momentum, and balance is more a matter of drive than of teetering.

This history of Seventh-day Adventists is written by one who is an Adventist, who believes in the message and mission of Adventists, and who would have everyone to be an Adventist. To the degree that he has been successful in portraying the inward fire and the environmental fuel of this movement, he serves the interests and ambitions of his people, and, please God, the purposes of heaven. The merely curious may discover in the furnace the outlines of that historical design which will not be injured by the fervency of the narration.

The special purpose of this work is to acquaint the mature youth and the adults of the Seventh-day Adventist Church with the beginnings and the progress of the cause to which they are committed by birth or choice. As the pioneers of this movement, known to us of the middle generation, have one by one died, the living sources of knowledge have passed away. Their presence among us, the reminiscent minds of some of them, the fervor of their spirits at which we warmed our souls, provided inspiration for which the cold chronicles of the day are

a poor substitute; and such of their fire as may be preserved in an account of their adventures and their ponderings is a necessity. It is not, indeed, in the annals of our fathers that we shall find the source of power that animates and must animate the soldiers of Christ's last legion: that source is the Holy Spirit, through whom the Father and the Son pour forth the abundance of their vision and energy and grace. The Word of God is the storehouse of the heavenly treasure, and in its prayerful and careful study lies the secret of translation from the kingdom of darkness to the kingdom of light. But the history of our spiritual forebears is not negligible; for not only are we given the riches of their discoveries, but we are heartened and incited to heavenly emulation by the accounts of their sufferings and deeds.

A comprehensive history of this people which would include every act and every worthy name, would make a work beyond the bounds of judgment or reading interest. It is rather in significant episodes of that history that the spirit and meaning of the movement may be caught, and that is the plan of this book. The student devoted to the search may find in other extant works many incidents illustrating further the faith and devotion of the pioneers; and he may know or he may learn of more than one noble servant of God whose service has no mention here. It would be impossible, especially in the last decades of this movement, worldwide as it has become, to inscribe the name and the deeds of every heroic warrior for Christ. The effort is made to set forth the spirit and the power of the movement rather than to call the roster of the saints.

Out of the fragmentary but vivid accounts with which the pioneers in their haste blazed the trail, I offer these volumes to the youth and their elders of this church, and to whatever public is interested in the field, as a partial but true account of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination.

ARTHUR W. SPALDING.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

OUT of the scores of helpers who have supplied information, suggested sources, given encouragement and constructive criticism, and assisted in various other ways in the preparation of this history, to select a few for special mention would seem almost invidious. Yet to neglect all would suggest an assumption of competence which is far from the truth.

To the several writers on Adventist history who have gone before, particularly M. E. Olsen, Matilda Erickson Andross, and Emma E. Howell, I declare my sincere appreciation for leads and intelligence. Although I have gone as far as possible to original sources (which several of their books are), their writing has often pointed out these sources and provided viewpoints for comparison and discussion, and their unity of purpose has been an inspiration.

Of the friends most responsible for the inception and completion of this project, my thanks are due, first, to Walter P. Elliott, former manager of the Review and Herald Publishing Association, now secretary of the General Conference Publishing Department, who initiated and made possible the beginning of the work; to Harvey A. Morrison, present manager of the Review and Herald, who has given every aid and encouragement to it; to Lora E. Clement, editor of the *Youth's Instructor*, who first made the suggestion which eventuated in the enterprise; to Francis D. Nichol, editor of the *Review and Herald*, and author, whose keen but sympathetic criticism has been a main force; to John D. Snider, manager of the Review and Herald book department; to Edith McClellan, librarian of the Review and Herald, and Mary Moore, librarian of the Southern Publishing Association, where much of my research centered; to LeRoy E. Froom, secretary of the Ministerial Association of the General Conference; to Arthur L. White and D. E. Robinson, of White Publications; to Merwin R. Thurber and H. M. Tippet, book editors, whose steering

of the book through the rugged channels of criticism has been admirable; and to T. K. Martin and his associates of the art department, for their zeal and skill in illustration.

And I bow my knees in thankfulness to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose giving and sustaining of life to the humblest of His creatures is the source and power of all the enterprises of men.

A. W. S. [1949]

EDITOR'S NOTE: The reader will find it profitable to study the illuminating notes in the Appendix to this volume, for much factual information and many items of human interest are contained there that were not found vital to the main narrative. Footnote references to these addenda at the end of chapters make these notes easy of access whenever they are pertinent to the better understanding of particular points in the text.

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LAW OF GOD

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE OF THE ADVENT

OUT through the gates of Jerusalem He led them, across the Kedron, up the green slopes of Olivet—Jesus, the Master, risen from the dead, immortal and triumphant, and His eleven disciples, transported with joy at His resurrection and filled with hope. They stood around Him on the brow of the mountain, in eager expectation.

"The kingdom, Lord! the kingdom! Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"

But He said to them, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." And He lifted up His hands and blessed them.

"And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven," "and a cloud received him out of their sight."

Parted! Parted! Their Lord was gone away, and where now was the kingdom? where, their hope? Steadfastly they gazed toward heaven until the cloud faded in the distance.

Yet as they watched with sinking hearts, it seemed the cloud was returning. Could it be? Pin points of glory, increasing in size and form and brightness, there appeared the messengers of heaven, as they had appeared in the opened tomb, two men in white apparel; and they stood by them. Then, as the disciples sought to bring their eyes into focus, the angels said, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."¹

It was not news, save as they had forgotten what their Lord had previously told them. Some forty days before, He had

said to them, "I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also."² And on more than one previous occasion He had prophesied to them His coming again in glory. Thus did He give a partial answer to their question: "Wilt thou . . . restore again the kingdom?"

The Second Advent of the Lord, therefore, became the great hope and longing of Christians. It was the climax of divine prophecies, ancient and current. It was constantly proclaimed by the apostles, who looked for its early fulfillment. It was the cherished faith of Christians through those savage pagan persecutions, when they refused to burn incense to Caesar's image, or faced the lions in the arena, or languished in the dungeons of the empire. It was the sustaining hope of the Church in the Wilderness during the Dark Ages, when by the papal emissaries they were hunted on the mountains, slaughtered in the valleys, burned at the stake, racked, starved, or tortured. It is the abiding confidence of the church even to the end of time. Lord Jesus, come quickly!

This blessed hope of Christ's coming has been a chief target of Satan's attacks, both subtle and savage. For these he has employed men in the church and outside the church. Confused on the dim trails of Jewish eschatology and Greek mythology, and hewing out doctrinal paths of their own, heretical theologians and schismatics have twisted the plain statements of Christ and of His prophets to fit their concepts of secret comings, spiritual raptures, and the glory burst of death. But the Lord Jesus declares, "If they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold he is in the secret chambers; believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be."³

Skeptics and philosophers have from the beginning ridiculed the doctrine of the resurrection and the coming of Christ in glory. The Epicureans and Stoics of Athens scorned the apostle and his message: "What will this babblers say? . . . He

seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods." "And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked." ⁴ "The wise men of the world have followed the lead. Materialists, critics, infidels, have argued that so radical a departure from the order of the cosmos could not take place. And looking down the ages to the time of the end, God's prophet saw the "scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." But to His church the Lord declares, through His apostles Peter and Paul, "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up." ⁵ "For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape." ⁶

The doctrine of the Second Advent of Christ, with its attendant events of the resurrection both of the just and the unjust, of the final judgment and destruction of the wicked, of the dissolution of the old world and the creation of a new world, with sin forever gone and innocence and purity regnant, is inseparable from Christianity. Not only is it essential to the completion of salvation's story, but it is documented by the testimony of Jesus and His apostles, and it is witnessed to by the faith and constancy and ministry of the church's martyrs and evangelists. Without it the gospel is a stream that sinks into sullen sands; with it the river of life goes forth to make the desert blossom as the rose and to create the Paradise of God.

That the future reign of Christ was replaced in men's minds by the present rule of the church was due to the great apostasy resulting in the engagement of men's thoughts with the vanities of the world. The initial fervor of the first centuries was submerged through the Dark Ages under the flood of papal errors. Proud churchmen, wrapped up in the material



wealth and pomp of their offices, had no interest in the cataclysmic end of the world; except to hold the laity in fear of the last judgment at some far future day when a stern Christ would come "to judge the quick and the dead." The Augustinian doctrine that the millennial kingdom was the present reign of the church formed a logical basis for the ecclesiastical empire of the Middle Ages that ruled the souls of men and rose eventually to dominance over kings.

But there was also a "church in the wilderness," not Roman but Christian. Through centuries of persecution, massacre, and exile, submerged groups kept alive the gospel of Christ, including the promise of His return. The Waldenses, typical and most renowned of these Christian bodies, zealously, though secretly, carried the Word throughout Europe, and maintained in their mountain fastnesses their cherished faith.

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century called forth a new prophetic emphasis. Nearly all the Reformers—Luther, Zwingli, Tyndale, Knox—were students and expositors of the prophecies. In the period following the Reformation the millennium was again seen to be in the future, beginning at the Second Advent. Many books on the Continent and in Britain dealt with the return of Christ.

But scarcely less in America, though here in the sixteen hundreds the press was in its infancy, did the great output of Second Advent literature occur. The men who first settled in New England came with the injunction of their Leyden pastor, John Robinson, ringing in their ears, to expect and to search for greater light from the Word of God, which should free them more fully from "antichristian darkness." Scarcely had the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock or the larger colonies of Puritans landed at Massachusetts Bay, when their pioneer leaders began to speak and write, among other subjects, on Biblical prophecy.

In sermons, in pamphlets, in books, they proclaimed their faith. Their early books, perforce, were published in old England, but the authors were the new Americans. John Cotton,

In every generation the flickering torch of truth was upheld, the faithful often fleeing from persecution. Among these were the Waldenses, who escaped to mountain retreats where earnest men schooled them in the faith of the Holy Scriptures.

early minister of the Boston church, within his first decade on this continent published two volumes on the Second Advent. Other ministers of the same period were Second Advent writers. Roger Williams, dissenting pastor at Salem and Plymouth, and then founder of Rhode Island, wrote four prophetic works. Before the century had passed, John Davenport; Cotton Mather; Increase Mather; Governor Joseph Dudley; Chief Justice Samuel Sewall; Urian Oakes, president of Harvard College; John Eliot, apostle to the Indians; and altogether over forty writers, including clergymen, statesmen, lawyers, teachers, physicians, and historians, were expositors of the blessed hope.⁷ However much some of these stern Puritans fell short of the grace of toleration, they yet held the basic doctrines of the Christian faith.

In the next century, the eighteenth, no less notable names appear on the roll, including the presidents of America's pioneer colleges, judges, legislators, teachers, and a great company of the clergy. Among them we see such famous personages as Jonathan Edwards; Samuel Hopkins; Timothy Dwight; Aaron Burr the elder, president of Princeton; Joshua Spalding, "day star of the Second Advent"; Elias Boudinot, Secretary of State and founder of the American Bible Society; and Lorenzo Dow, that eccentric but effective evangelist who covered English America in annual pilgrimage from Maine to the forest wildernesses of Tennessee and Mississippi. Altogether there were, in the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, at least another forty American writers on the prophecies.

The writers on prophecy included men of almost every Protestant denomination in many lands. Nearly all were premillennialists, but by the late eighteenth century many in America and the majority in England had accepted the new theory of postmillennialism—the belief that Christ would not return until after a thousand (possibly 315,000) years of righteousness on earth.

The early nineteenth century saw a marked reaction against this postmillennialist view. One of the most telling

treatises on the Second Advent was written by Manuel de Lacunza,⁸ a Roman Catholic priest born in Chile. There were other witnesses also in South America, and more on the continent of Europe. More particularly, the British Isles became the center of a new and vigorous premillennialist movement. Its expositors held, along with the doctrine of the imminent return of Christ, a belief in the restoration to Palestine and the mass conversion of the Jews. Therefore great efforts were initially put forth to evangelize them.

In England, Lewis Way joined forces with Joseph S. C. F. Frey and C. S. Hawtrey, who had founded a society and were publishing a paper devoted to that cause. J. Hatley Frere, member of a noted English house, gave his life to the cause. Henry Drummond, banker and member of Parliament, added his wealth, his prestige, and his enthusiasm. They were shortly joined by Joseph Wolff, who as a Jewish lad had accepted Christianity, progressed mightily in learning, and became the most famous of them all as "the missionary to the world." Members of this group labored not only in the British Isles but on the Continent; establishing branches of their society; publishing literature in several languages; extending personal efforts as far as Russia, and, as in the case of Wolff, reaching not only lands around the Mediterranean but countries in Africa and Asia, and even India. America also felt the influence of the movement, largely through British books.

The voices of prominent clergymen in the Established Churches of England and Scotland, and also in the nonconforming churches, were heard proclaiming the Advent near. Eloquent and saintly Edward Irving was one of the foremost preachers of the Advent. Hugh M'Neile, rector of Albury, was a foremost expositor of the prophecies, and moderator of the Prophetic Conferences held at Albury Park, the estate of Henry Drummond. William Cuninghame, of Scotland, and Edward Bickersteth, of England, were other prominent advocates. Altogether, it was reckoned there were more than four hundred preachers of the Second Advent in the British Isles.



Like the scattering of the winged seeds of a great tree, the message of the coming King whirled over Christendom; and through the distribution of literature by merchant and through such messengers as Joseph Wolff, it penetrated Mohammedan and pagan lands. These British "Literalists" raised the cry of "the Advent near," opposing the popular postmillennialist view that deferred or "spiritualized" away the personal, visible coming of the Lord. Thus they proclaimed a message that was and is an integral part of Christian doctrine and the logical end of the gospel.

Many of these British writers and some on the Continent and in North America, including a few postmillennialists also, looked for the end of Daniel's 2300 days. The most popular dates set were 1843, 1844, and 1847 (based on beginning the 2300 days and the 70 weeks together, as Petri of Germany had done earlier), though some looked to 1866 or 1867. The events variously expected included: the fall of the papacy, of Islam, or of Protestant error, the restoration of the Jews, the freeing of Palestine from the Turks, the return of Jesus to set up a millennial kingdom on earth, with the Jews ruling the nations.

But even before the 1840's passed without the expected developments, the movement lost its cohesion. Irving died in 1834, leaving a small "Catholic Apostolic Church"; others who repudiated the "Irvingites" followed the new views of Darby and his Plymouth Brethren; still others went their separate ways. The "Irvingites" and the Plymouth Brethren espoused a new futurism, teaching the church's "rapture" to heaven before the time of trouble preceding the Second Advent; but these new doctrines spread only slowly among pre-millennialists as a whole.⁹

It was reserved for a simple American farmer to be the agent in planting the seed which should grow into the tree of the judgment-hour message of the judgments of God and the faith of Jesus. Prophetic expositors of all the ages past, and particularly of that great company in the two centuries which

spanned America's rise, influenced the great Second Advent Movement of the 1840's. But none of them created this movement which stirred America.

In 1831 William Miller, a farmer of Low Hampton, New York, persuaded by fifteen years of intensive study of the Bible prophecies that the Advent of Christ was at hand, felt impelled by the Spirit to declare his views. Miller, though neither educated for the ministry nor versed in the subtleties of dialectics, had nevertheless some eminent qualifications for his unexpected role. He was widely read, especially in history; he had early evinced literary and oratorical ability; he had a talent for persistent and careful research; and above all, he was sincere and deeply in earnest. He was highly respected for his sterling qualities, and in the coming years of his public work he proved himself more than a match for his opponents, learned or pedantic. In the beginning he reached his conclusions on the Second Advent from study of the Bible alone, "laying aside all commentaries, former views and prepossessions,"¹⁰ though later he compared his views with those of various predecessors in prophetic interpretation.

But at first his preaching, or lecturing, was but little heeded. He was welcomed to the pulpits of many ministers, and there were many conversions, but his influence was mainly in the rural regions, and evoked very mild interest compared to what was to follow. Not until the threshold of the 40's, when Miller was joined by young Joshua V. Himes, of Boston; by Josiah Litch; Charles Fitch; and scores of other ministers, did the Second Advent message begin to attract wide attention.

Then for about five years it was a mighty message, which stirred America from the Atlantic to the trans-Mississippi, reverberated on the far-distant Pacific Coast, and by literature reached to the far corners of the earth. Ridiculed, misrepresented, maligned, Miller and his co-workers yet held to their faith and their message. The scurrilous tales circulated about them were, in every type, refuted in their publications; yet these tales lived, to be repeated in common gossip for a hun-

dred years and reprinted in twentieth-century articles and books.

The reputable histories of the United States in the early nineteenth century, including the hectic forties, are almost wholly silent concerning this beginning of the proclamation of the coming King. It is to the historian merely one of the discredited episodes of that crowded period, a religious frenzy that ended in disillusion, not worthy of note beside the explorations and wars and conquests, the inventions and applications of science, the moral movements, and the legitimate history of the church.

For this the American historian is no more to be blamed than is the Roman historian to be called in fault for ignoring the birth of Jesus in a stable in Judaea. Unless in the latter case he were a believer in the First Advent, or in the Second Advent in the other, he could not correctly evaluate the event; and his view, should he look, would inevitably be distorted by the common opinions of detractors and enemies. It takes a century, yes, and more to bring honor to the seed which has produced the tree.

America is the ultimate crown of Bible prophecy. It was discovered by an explorer who believed in the Second Advent;¹¹ it was peopled in its most potent regions by a people devoted to the gospel climax; the pattern of its customs, its thought, its government, was fashioned under the influence of the Christian faith; it is the last nation mentioned in Bible prophecy; and it is the land from which the final and supreme exposition of prophecy and the last gospel message have gone forth to all the world.

America was good ground prepared for the seed of the Advent. The Master Sower had liberally scattered that seed elsewhere, in the fields of Asia and Europe—on the hard ground of religious arrogance and tyranny, where the agents of persecution had “devoured it up”; on the rocky soil of restless innovation, where the disciples of change had quickly sprung up and as quickly withered away; in the lush fields of city enter-

prise and commerce, where it was choked by the briers and thorns of the cares of this life. Now He came to the wilderness, and here He found good ground, which should bring forth, some thirtyfold, some sixty, some a hundred.

It was a land of liberty. The church, in the visions of John, was an expectant mother, faced by a dragon waiting to devour her child.¹² The child was born—the First Advent of Christ—and caught up into heaven. The dragon sent forth a flood of waters to destroy the mother; but the earth helped the woman by swallowing the flood; and she fled away into the wilderness, where she was nourished for a time, times, and half a time, in prophetic computation 1260 years. The Pilgrims and the Puritans who came to America held the new continent to be the far reaches of that wilderness. And rightly did they so think.

“What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?—
They sought a faith’s pure shrine!

“Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod;
They have left unstained what there they found,—
Freedom to worship God.”¹³

Where else could the message of the return from heaven of the Prince of the church, the Lord Jesus Christ, have found root so securely? Fugitive from the flood of persecution, apostasy, and heresy through the Dark Ages, the prophetic plant of the Second Advent appeared here in the wilderness, where the air itself was freedom, where there was room for thought to grow and for conscience to breathe, where men adventured greatly and gave a welcoming hand to those of different faith. Here God planted at last the seed which sprang up a tree, tiny and tender at first, but destined in this last day to spread its branches over all the earth.

The Second Advent message proclaimed by William Miller

and his associates was a return to the Scriptural doctrine that the Lord's coming was to wind up the history of this old world. Unlike the Literalists, they expected no earthly, fleshly kingdom, Jewish or otherwise, in which sin and death could continue. The kingdom was, they said, to be established on a renewed earth, peopled only by the glorified saints of all ages and all peoples, with the rest resurrected at the end of the thousand years to meet their final doom. But the kingdom of the redeemed was to last through all eternity.

The Miller movement was the immediate background of the Seventh-day Adventist people and church, and the matrix in which they were formed. Although in its developed theology this church has made advances beyond Miller's initial doctrines and taught the imminent return of the Lord Jesus Christ without Miller's time setting, the moral awakening and the keen expectation of the Advent in the 1844 movement are the womb from which was born the modern child. The founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were believers and workers in the Second Advent Movement begun by Miller. Their progress in truth and their evolvment of an organic church system will be traced in subsequent chapters.

¹ Acts 1:4-11.

² John 14:2, 3.

³ Matthew 24:26, 27.

⁴ Acts 17:18, 32.

⁵ 2 Peter 3:3, 4, 10.

⁶ 1 Thessalonians 5:2, 3.

⁷ For these early American expositors, see LeRoy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 3, pp. 44, 45 (chart).

⁸ Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra [Manuel de Lacunza], *The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty*, translated from the Spanish by Edward Irving (1827).

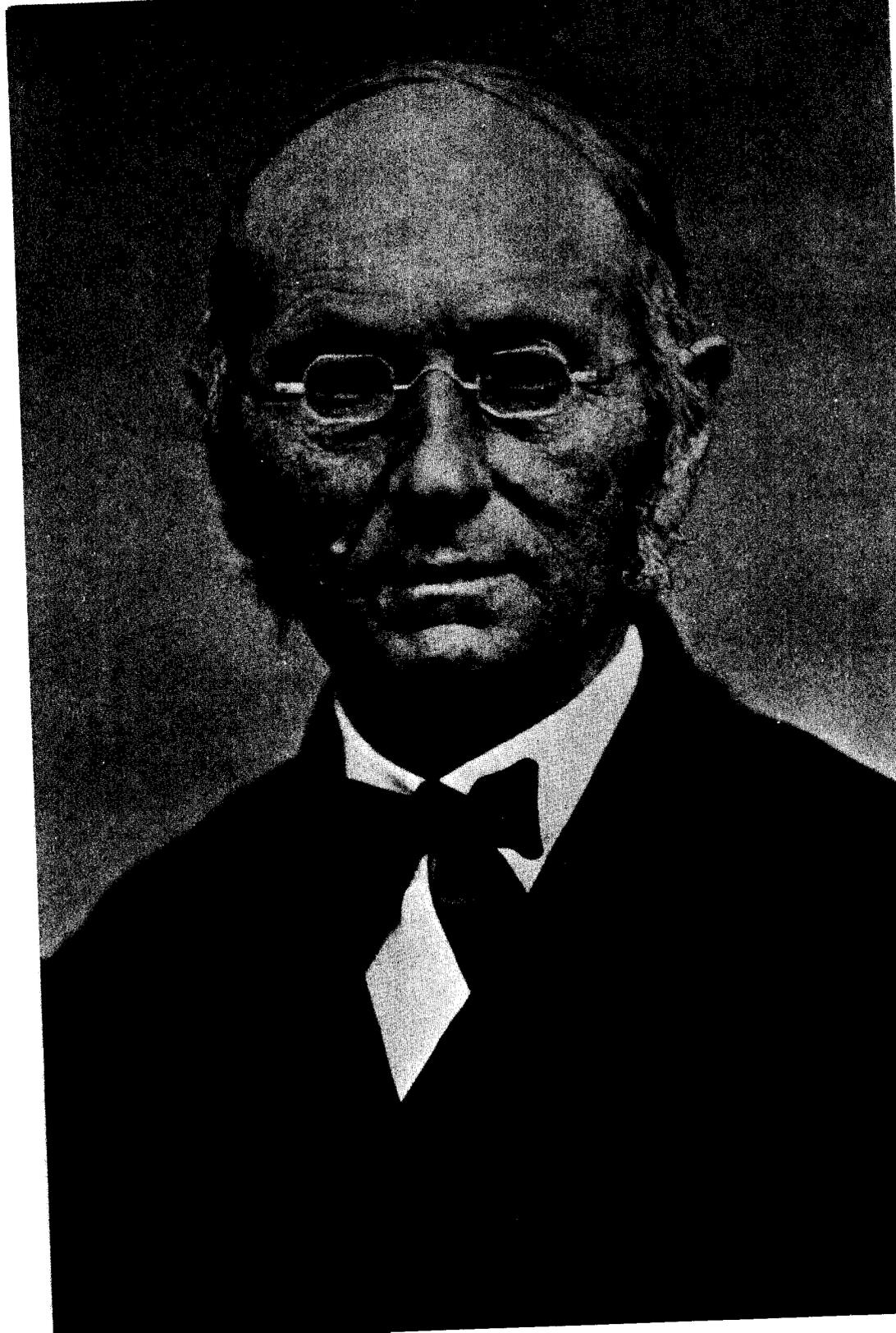
⁹ For these early 19th century expositors, see Froom, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 389-410; on the rise of premillennialist futurism, see *ibid.*, pp. 411-426. Decades later Darby's system came to dominate much of fundamentalist premillennialism. It is a futurist, pretribulationist dispensationalism with antinomian tendencies, best known from the Scofield Bible.

¹⁰ Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, Selected From Manuscripts of William Miller With a Memoir of His Life*, p. 11.

¹¹ See Appendix.

¹² Revelation 12.

¹³ Felicia D. Hemans, "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England," in *The Best Loved Poems of the American People*, pp. 217, 218.



CHAPTER 2

SABBATH APOSTLE AND PIONEER*

MR. Bates," said Judge Hopper half seriously, as they drove along through the night toward the judge's home, "I understand that you are an abolitionist, and have come here to get away our slaves."

"Yes, judge," answered the preacher, "I am an abolitionist, and have come to get your slaves, and *you too!* We teach that Christ is coming to take His people home; and we want you to come with us, and bring all your servants."

It was the winter of 1843-44, and Joseph Bates, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, ex-sea captain, temperance advocate, abolitionist, and now Adventist, had come on a mission to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, by way of Washington and Annapolis, accompanied by his "singing evangelist," H. S. Gurney,² to proclaim the imminent appearing of Christ in glory. They had held a five-day meeting on Kent Island, where Bates was recognized and entertained by a family who twenty-seven years before had been his helpful hosts when, as first mate of the brig *Criterion*, he and some of the crew had found refuge from shipwreck.

Now they had arrived at Centerville, county seat of Queen Anne's, where they met a merchant, Mr. Harper, and Judge Hopper, two men who were the principal owners of the "new meeting-house," a church building which they offered for the Advent meetings. Bates and Gurney, filled with the urgency of their mission, were making lightning thrusts at one point after another. Here they held but a three-day meeting, during which time Judge Hopper entertained them; and though less deeply convicted than many others, admitted that he was "almost persuaded."

* *The Early Life and Later Experience and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates* cited in this chapter is the edition of 1878.

Captain Joseph Bates, sincere, decisive, and self-sacrificing crusader for truth. His strong convictions and undeviating temperance habits made him a bulwark to the early Advent believers.

On the second day the judge, who had preceded them to his home, was found reading his paper, the *Baltimore Patriot*. When they came in he said, "Do you know who these men were?" and proceeded to read:

"Two men who came up in a vessel from Kent Island, were in at our office, and related a circumstance respecting two Millerites that were recently there, preaching about Christ's second coming and the end of the world. When threatened with riding on a rail, they replied that they were all ready, and if they would put a saddle on the rail, it would be better to ride than to walk!"

"Well," said Bates, "something like that did happen when we were down on the island, and probably we are the persons referred to."

"At the commencement of our last afternoon meeting, a man whom I knew to be a Methodist class-leader, and one of the trustees that refused us the use of their meeting-house, arose and commenced denouncing the Advent doctrine in a violent manner. . . . In a few minutes he seemed to be lost in his arguments and began to talk about riding us on a rail."²

The judge laughed heartily, and made the men tell his own guests at dinner all the details, with Bates' concluding words to the would-be mob leader: "You must not think that we have come six hundred miles through the ice and snow, at our own expense, to lecture to you, without first sitting down and counting the cost. And now, if the Lord has no more for us to do, we had as lief lie at the bottom of the Chesapeake Bay as anywhere else until the Lord comes. But if he has any more work for us to do, you can't touch us!"

The editor of the *Patriot* commented,³ "The crush of matter and the wreck of worlds would be nothing to such men."

From Centerville, Bates and Gurney passed up through the north of Maryland, holding their last meeting at Elktown (Elkton), and then on their way home reported to Miller in New York. Miller and Himes had been on tour to the great cities, from Boston to Washington and Baltimore. Bates had

met with them at Philadelphia on the way down, and Miller was deeply interested to learn some details of the trip into eastern Maryland. This whole year of 1844 was a time of intense activity on the part of the heralds of the Advent, and of excitement on the part of the public concerning the doctrine proclaimed. Up to the spring of 1844 Miller had set or accepted no definite date for Christ's appearing, only declaring that the year 1843, which, reckoned by the Jewish calendar, would end in April, 1844, was to witness the Advent. When that time passed without the fulfillment of this prediction, the believers experienced "the first disappointment"; but it was not so keen as the later disappointment, on October 22, 1844, which day had been set that summer as the definite day of the coming. Bates and Gurney's southern trip was in February and March.

The Advent doctrine, however, was sharing the attention of the public with many other affairs—political, economic, moral, and religious. President Andrew Jackson's eight-year rule had ended in 1837, but his party's policies, made by himself, were continued for the next four years under his successor, Martin Van Buren. Old Hickory's policies were dictated by his prejudices. He had smashed the United States Bank; and this, with successive acts, brought on the panic of 1837, when the rapidly expanding Western development nearly collapsed.

The Whigs' triumph over Van Buren in 1840 was short lived, for Tyler succeeded to the Presidency upon Harrison's death a month after taking office; and Tyler, the last of the Virginians to sit in the White House, was no Whig, though elected on their ticket as Vice-President. Now, in 1844 the hustings were resounding with the screaming speeches, the torchlight parades, the tub-thumping political songs of the contesting partisans of Polk and Clay. Should Texas be admitted? Should Mexico be fought? Should the Oregon country be given up to the British, or should it all be claimed up to the Russian line? "Fifty-four forty or fight!" A few days after the October 22 disappointment Polk was elected.

American prosperity had proved too sturdy for the panic or political change to halt. The wealth of the nation was in the land and its products, and the spirit of invention and eager adventure drove the nation on. The newborn railroad was pushing everywhere; and its older partner, the steamboat, was pioneering on Western waters as well as on the Atlantic Ocean. The Conestoga wagon, forerunner of the Western canvas-covered prairie schooner, was struggling through the Allegheny mountain passes, and the Erie Canal, finished and opened in 1825, bore an increasingly major part of the freight and travel westward. The cotton gin in the South and the McCormick reaper in the North and West were changing the face of agricultural industry. The candle was giving way to the smoky lamp burning the "devil's oil," and ugly iron stoves were impressing their superior economic worth as compared to the cheerful fireplace. The photographic daguerreotype was cheapening portrait painting and more faithfully recording historic scenes. Goodyear in 1844 discovered the art of vulcanizing rubber, piling another American triumph upon the load of inventions. And in this same year Morse established his telegraph.

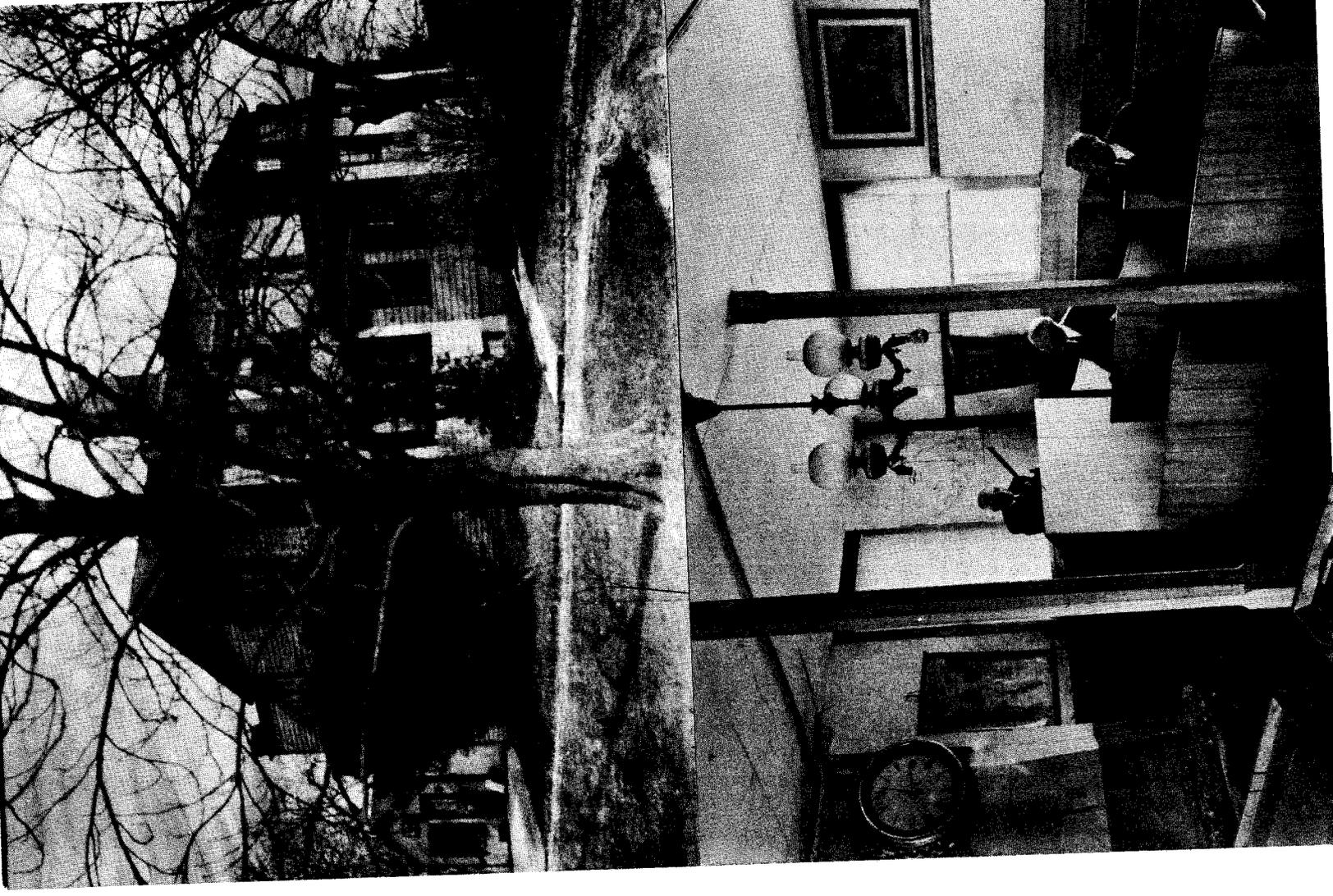
It was in May of 1844 that the telegraph sent its first jubilant message from Washington to Baltimore: "What hath God wrought!" and returned the more earthy tidings from Baltimore, where the Democratic Convention was wrestling: "Polk nominated for the Presidency." Now through the hurly-burly of one of the wildest election campaigns in American history the electrifying news mounted ever higher: "Christ is coming!" Meanwhile the thunder of the abolitionist army was growing from Garrison's snare drumming into the rumbling threat of ten thousand marching feet, going forward toward that bloody Civil War.

Bates, who had been prominent in the crusading ranks of temperance and active in the abolition movement, in the fall of 1839 embraced Miller's views of the imminent Advent; and he now threw all his force and all his resources into it. He sold

his property, and poured his money into the Advent cause. He was not alone among Adventist preachers who had come from the ranks of the reformers. Joshua V. Himes, George Storrs, Henry Jones, and dozens of others were ardent temperance reformers and abolitionists before the Advent cause captured them. How could they displace their interest in these reforms with the one Advent message? Bates's reply to this question from complaining friends doubtless answered for all of them: "I have no less interest in temperance and in freeing of the slave than before; but I am come face to face with a tremendous enveloping cause. When Christ comes, liquor will be forgotten and the slave will be free. The lesser causes are swallowed in the greater."⁴

In the movement begun by William Miller, Joseph Bates took a prominent part. He was one of the signers of the call for the first Second Advent Conference, in Boston, October 14, 1840; he was vice-chairman of the second, and chairman of the twelfth conference in May, 1842;⁵ and he was always deep in the counsels of the leaders throughout the entire life of the movement.⁶

Having thus introduced him in his role as a leader in the Second Advent cause, let us look back at his early life and his preparation for the influential part he was to play in the last gospel mission. He had gone through an adventurous youth and an enterprising career at sea. With his parents' reluctant consent, at the age of fifteen he had sailed as cabin boy on a merchantman trading with Europe. It was the time of the Napoleonic Wars; and on his second voyage, in 1810, his ship, becoming separated in a storm from the British convoy, was captured by Danish privateers (Denmark then being a part of Bonaparte's Continental system), and taken to Copenhagen. Through one adventure after another young Bates escaped to Liverpool, only to be seized, with a companion, by a press gang and inducted into the navy of King George III.⁷ Despite presentation of American credentials a naval officer swore that this Bates was an Irishman whose parents lived in Belfast.



For two years Bates saw service against the French in the Mediterranean. No docile draftee, he made several attempts to escape, and was soundly punished for them. His father sent by a friend ample proof of his American citizenship, but nothing availed to secure his freedom. When the United States declared war in 1812, the twenty-year-old Bates led six of his American companions to the quarterdeck, demanding to be made prisoners of war, a demand which was finally heeded. They were followed in this act by some two hundred other Americans in the fleet. His experience during the next eight months in the Mediterranean fleet shows him the typical intransigent Yankee, standing out even from his American mates in spirited defense of his rights, miserably allowed though they proved to be.

After eight months of this life, resisting daily invitations and pressure to join the British Navy, Bates and the rest of the American prisoners were transferred to England, and first shut up in the hold of a captured and dismantled Danish man-of-war, off Chatham. With riots, plots to escape, and threats to kill captured officers, they made the commander's life miserable. Using a notched table knife, they cut a hole in the hull through which eighteen men escaped, swimming to shore and finally establishing their liberty by sailing on foreign shipping from London. While carpenters were patching up this hole, the prisoners took some of their tools and cut another on the opposite side. Finally the harassed commander arranged for their removal to Dartmoor Prison, fifteen miles inland from Plymouth.

The life in Dartmoor, encompassing nearly another year, was a continuation of their career in the prison ship, miserably underclothed, starved, their rations cut, their minor infractions savagely punished. Riots and plots to escape followed one upon another, culminating in a massacre of prisoners and the threatened hanging of a captured English soldier. Finally, the last of April, 1815, the war being concluded, the prisoners were released and shipped to America.

Bates had spent five years in British service, unlawfully seized, his evidence rejected, his rights overrun, his service

← LOWER PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

Upper: "Meadow Farm," the early home of Joseph Bates at Fairhaven across the Acushnet River from New Bedford, Massachusetts. Lower: The public school in Fairhaven, with its wooden desks, where Joseph Bates attended till his fifteenth year.

salted with injustice and punishment. In later years he wrote: "At that time I felt a wicked spirit toward those who deprived me of my liberty, and held me in this state of oppression, and required me in their way to serve God, and honor their king. But I thank God, who teaches us to forgive and love our enemies, that through His rich mercy, in Jesus Christ, I have since found forgiveness of my sins; that all such feelings are subdued, and my only wish is, that I could teach them the way of life and salvation."⁸

His father and mother and family joyfully welcomed the returned rover. And here first is revealed the strong spirit of reform and right living which is a leading characteristic of Bates's whole life. His father had dreaded to see him come home a sodden wreck like most of the sailors of the sea; and almost his first inquiry was, "My boy, have you injured your constitution?" Translating this into the meaning, "Are you a drunken sot?" Joseph Bates answered, "No, Father. I became disgusted with the intemperate habits of the people I was associated with. I have no particular desire for strong drink."

He was no saint, as he thoroughly recognized then and through the eight years of his groping toward conversion. Copying his companions to a degree, he cursed, smoked, chewed tobacco, and drank socially; but he stood out from most by his self-restraint and moderation in all, and by his clean life. His father's Christian example and his mother's solicitude were an anchor for his soul in the early days, and these made the starting point from which he progressed to higher levels. No moral blot ever stained his life, and amid all the coarsening environment of his twenty-one years on the seas he made most remarkable progress in personal character building and in pioneering reforms.

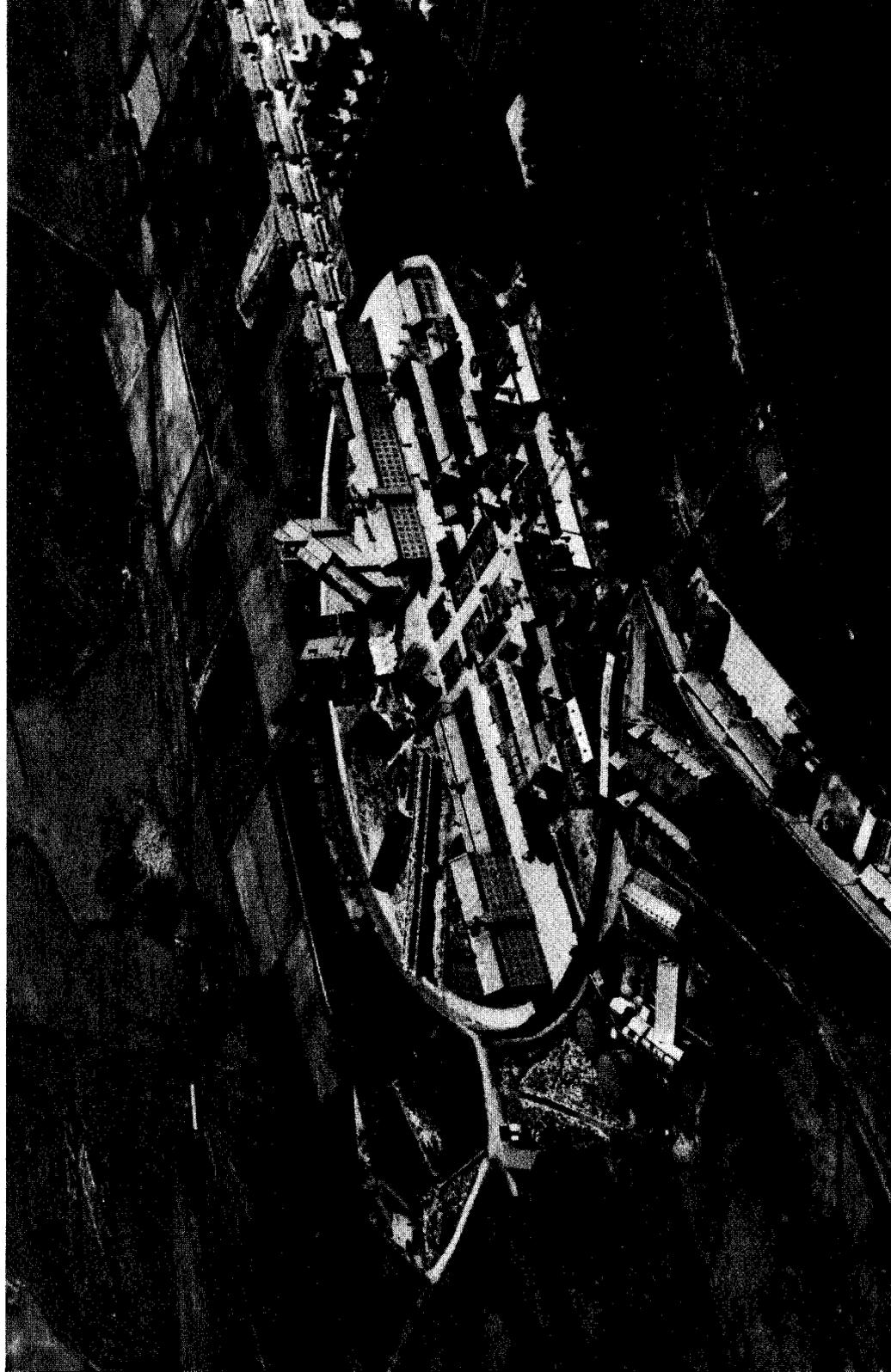
The sea was in his blood. He had been at home in Fairhaven⁹ but a few weeks when he was engaged by a ship captain, an old-time friend, as second mate on a voyage to Europe. The next year he was first mate on the ill-fated *Criterion*, sailing from Alexandria, Virginia, and Baltimore, which in the severe

winter storms of 1817 was wrecked on Love Point, Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay. Shortly thereafter he entered upon his long career of trade with South America as first mate of another ship, sailing to Brazil; and he came home in command of her.

He was married February 15, 1818, to a friend of his youth, Prudence Nye, who, as was the common experience of seamen's wives, gave him up to the seas six weeks after the wedding. For the next ten years Bates followed the sea, mostly in trade between New Bedford and South America, both East and West coasts, though he made two voyages to Europe. From 1820 on he was the captain, and later also part owner and supercargo of his vessels. In this period of risky enterprise and dangerous adventure, dealing with revolutionists, pirates, and the tempestuous sea, he acquired what was regarded in those days as a comfortable fortune; and in 1828, at his wife's long-continued solicitation and in accordance with his own desires, he left the sea forever, at the age of thirty-six.

Bates had not been long at sea in the years of his manhood before he took himself seriously in hand for reform. His first struggle was to free himself completely from alcoholic liquors. Having, during his British servitude, rejected strong drink, he now left off wine, later beer and cider, during which experience he was frequently the target of ridicule and temptation, ranging from the abuse of a rival supercargo to the blandishments of a lady at dinner; but he steadfastly held to his resolution.¹⁰ During this progressive victory he came to feel that the habit of tobacco using was filthy, and he threw away his cigars and his plug, nevermore to touch the weed.¹¹ "Step by step," he says, "I had gained this victory—nature never required either. I never used the articles, except to keep company with my associates. How many millions have been ruined by such debasing . . . habits. How much more like a human being I felt when I had gained the mastery in these things and overcome them all."¹²

All these steps toward a freer manhood had been taken by Bates without inducement from any source, and against the



practices of nearly all around him. Neither did religion, to his conscious mind, lend him any assistance; for he was not a professed Christian at this time. Yet its moral standards were in all his efforts, even though most professed Christians then counted it no sin to use liquor in moderation and tobacco in any degree. And God, who helps all right-intentioned men, helped him to conquer.

But Bates was at the same time struggling with another infirmity, the sin of profanity. Curses were a stock in trade of every sea captain and mate, and their men were only a little less proficient. But Joseph Bates had been taught by a devoted father the way of life, though he had not walked well in it. Now he vigorously tried to overcome the habit of cursing, and laid the same injunction upon his officers and men. He at least made progress by exercise of will.¹³

He was earnestly desirous of becoming a Christian, but his concept of the process of conversion, gained from the testimony of Christian friends, kept him waiting long at the door of supplication, with many erroneous notions and practices. When he sailed from home in August, 1824—captain, part owner, and supercargo of the new brig *Empress*, built and outfitted to order—he laid in a supply of “interesting books” to read in his leisure hours. His earnest wife, inspecting these, thought there were more novels and romances than necessary; so she placed a New Testament on top, and inscribed on the flyleaf verses by Felicia Hemans, which caught his attention and laid in the dust his interest in fiction. From this time on he read exclusively religious books in his collection, and his Bible.

Reviewing his life, he acknowledged God’s intervention in his many escapes from death, and he decided to “try the strength of prayer.” Not wanting anyone to discover him at his devotions, he prepared a secret place in the “run scuttle” under the dining table in his cabin; and though in his first essay at praying his hair seemed to be “standing out straight,” he persevered, remembering that his New Bedford Christian friends had told how they sorrowed for sin two or three weeks before

the Lord spoke peace to their minds. Two weeks passed, however, and a third, with no peace. One night he was tempted in desperation to jump overboard, but he resisted the devil, went below, and sought refuge in his Bible.

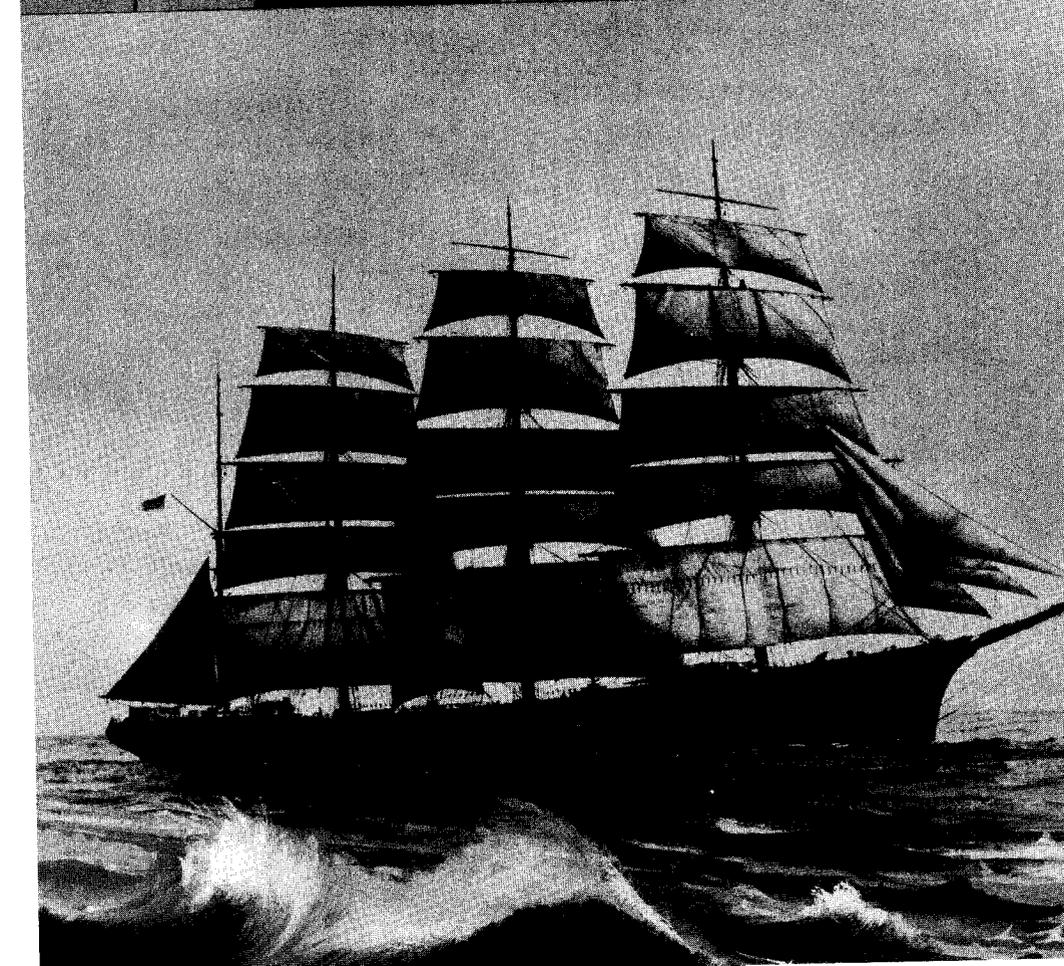
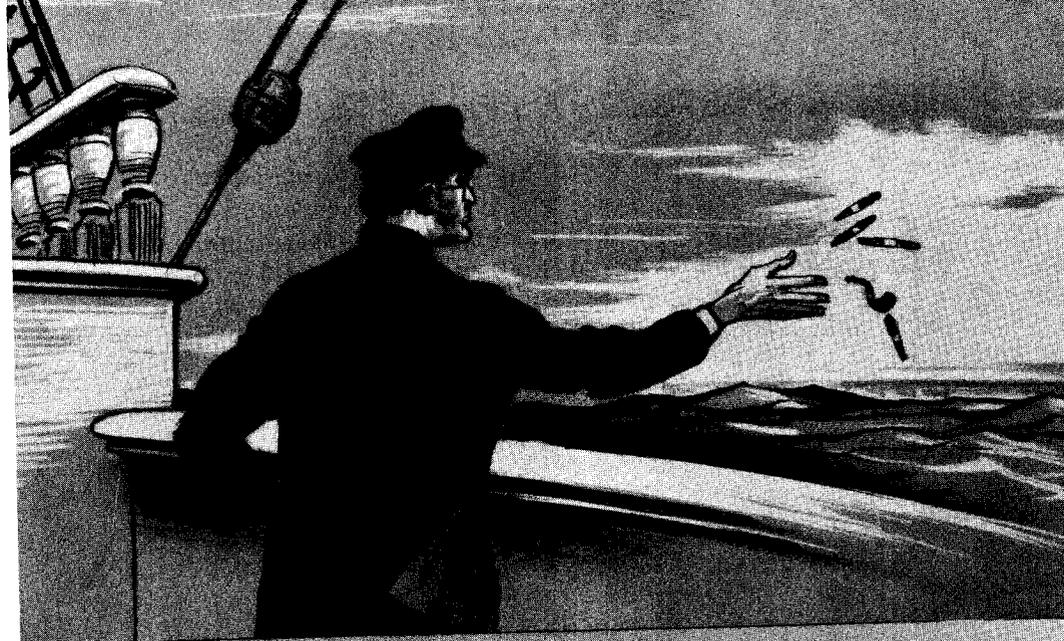
His struggles toward conviction and conversion went on through the whole voyage, twenty months; but his letters to his wife and entries in his diary convinced her that he had reached the goal; and upon his return in March, 1826, she encouraged and assured him. He very soon, in revival services by the Congregational minister, gave himself soul and body to the Lord Jesus Christ, and joined his wife's church, the Christian,¹⁴ being baptized by immersion. His father, a Congregationalist deacon, sought earnestly to convince him that he belonged with them, and rather wistfully remarked, "I had you baptized when an infant." But Joseph replied that the Bible teaches we must first believe and then be baptized, and declared that he was too young then to believe.

On the day of his baptism he asked the officiating minister to assist him in starting a temperance society. But the minister declined. Failing to find his temperance affinity in his chosen church, with some shamefacedness but with determined zeal, he prepared a subscription paper and went to the Congregationalist minister, who exclaimed, "Why, Captain Bates, this is just what I have been wanting to see!" Not only the minister but his two deacons signed (this must have included the elder Bates), and so lovely coals of fire were heaped on the enthusiast's head. Other principal men of the town, mostly retired sea captains, joined with them; and thus was formed the Fairhaven Temperance Society, adding somewhat later a "Cold Water Army" of children numbering nearly three hundred.¹⁵ From this beginning other societies were formed in New Bedford and neighboring towns, and shortly a Bristol County society, followed by the Massachusetts State Temperance Society.¹⁶

On his next and last voyage Captain Bates spared no pains to make his command an extreme model of a Christian ship: no liquor, no profanity, no quarreling, no Sunday desecration,

whether sailing or in port. On the positive side there was a new kind of fatherly sea captain, who gave to his men a perfect example, good counsel, encouragement, and disciplinary help. There was also a good library, including the latest newspapers, and a year's volume of a religious paper, *Zion's Herald*, successive copies of which were handed out twice a week. The crew were called to prayers in the captain's cabin every morning and evening. All of them acquiesced, and most of them welcomed the novel experiment; but at first one William Dunn⁷ stood out. He had to cuss, he said; he had to have his grog; he had always had shore leave on Sunday in port; and now if he must be a teetotaler on the seas, he intended to get plenty drunk on shore. He found a firm commander in Captain Bates, however, and with the exception of a few sprees when at liberty (not on Sunday), he weathered the gale, and indeed at the end of the voyage declared his appreciation of the experience. The crew on the home stretch had the unheard-of experience of a revival at sea, with conversions. Some of them, when port was made, inquired when Captain Bates was going on another voyage, for they wanted to sail with him. But he was done with the sea.

In his autobiography Bates is tantalizingly but innocently casual about his family relationships. It seems not to have occurred to him that his personal affairs, apart from public interests or his profession and reforms, could be of importance to his readers. We learn incidentally that he had several brothers and sisters, but how many or who they were we are left to guess, save for the facts that his "brother" was his first mate on several voyages and succeeded him as captain; that he had another brother in Barre, Massachusetts, who was a physician (a fact we learn only incidentally through an inquiry from the captain of a ship in midocean who provisioned him during a long and perilous voyage), and that the husband of one of his sisters was "Mr. B." Of his children we hear only that, on arriving at Alexandria from a South American voyage, in 1821, he received a letter from his wife telling of the death of their



son, evidently an infant; and that, returning in 1824 from a two years' absence in the Pacific, "a little blue-eyed girl of sixteen months, whom I had never seen, was . . . waiting with her mother to greet me, and welcome me once more to our comfortable and joyous fireside." Nothing more is heard of this daughter, not even her name, until in a letter written in his last year, after his wife's death, he tells of his daughter's caring for him. However, in a report to the *Review and Herald* he mentions the return home from a Pacific whaling voyage of his son, who had been injured, and in 1865 he records the death, on board ship sailing from England, of this his "only son," Joseph Anson, born 1830.¹⁸ Then a statement by the executor of his will, in 1872, names three daughters, his surviving children: Mary Reardon (or Beardon), of Monterey, Michigan; Eleanor S. Meador, of Brooklyn, New York, and Lizzie P. Taber.¹⁹

Yet Bates was of a most loyal and affectionate nature. This is apparent in every reference he makes to his family, either the paternal or his own. The solidarity of the elder Bates's family is revealed as typically New Englishish, with no foolish effervescence, but strong in loyalty and affection. The tender solicitude of Joseph Bates's wife for his conversion while at sea is evident in more than one reference, and incidents of their married life again and again show the harmony, cooperation, and affection that existed between them.

With his brethren and co-workers Bates was the soul of magnanimity, deference, and genuine affection; and as for his converts, after his brief visits they parted from him in tears. Toward his opponents he could, and sometimes did, show a sharp judgment and biting irony; yet all accounts agree upon his gentlemanly demeanor and grave courtesy. He was an eager pioneer, a born leader, used to the command of men, and yet, says his younger co-worker James White: "Elder Bates was a true gentleman. We might suppose that a man of his natural firmness and independence, after twenty-one years of sea-faring life, and commander of rough sailors a large portion of that time, would be exacting and overbearing in his efforts to

← UPPER, BY KREIGH COLLINS; LOWER, BY GALLOWAY

In a dramatic moment of conviction, Captain Bates consigned to the sea his pipe and tobacco, and from his rough life as a sailor, emerged a man of strictly temperate habits.

reform others. True, he would speak what he regarded as truth with great freedom and boldness; but after he had set forth principles, and urged the importance of obedience, he was willing to leave his hearers to decide for themselves.”²⁰

We see in him the daring, resourceful, imperious soul, self-disciplined and schooled to the charity, meekness, and teachableness of a Christian leader, yet with no loss of initiative, enterprise, and power.

Joseph Bates was ever the pioneer and the leader of pioneers. This is evident in what has been related of his life, of his reformations at sea, and of his experiences soon after leaving the sea. We shall see him going on to other reforms, physical and spiritual. He never spared himself personal exertion. From the beginning of his connection with the Second Advent Movement he traveled much; and in his championing of the views upon which Seventh-day Adventists came to unite, though in his fifties and sixties, he undertook journeys and endured hardships that often overcame younger men. He traveled in Canada in the depths of winter, wading deep snows and enduring below-zero temperatures; he ranged the mountains of Vermont and New Hampshire; he led the way into the forests and swamps of Michigan and the prairies and woods of Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Preaching, visiting in the homes, writing, and drawing the scattered sheep into bands and preparing and appointing shepherds over them, Father Bates, as he came to be called in his later years, was pioneer and more than pioneer.

He was an exemplar of the ethics of social life.²¹ He was pioneer in the reform of diet and health habits. His personal example in eating, drinking, and all other relations told for much in building the foundation for that doctrine of health which has become a marked feature of the church he helped to found. Solely by his own observation, judgment, and exercise of will he freed himself from the bondage of liquor and tobacco. Later he dropped tea and coffee, condiments, and finally flesh foods. It is not improbable that he was influenced in these

last reforms by the current teachings of Sylvester Graham (whom he quotes²²), Doctors J. C. Jackson and R. T. Trall, and other vegetarians of the time, though it is evident from his account that his decisions came as the result of his own experiences and thinking, and he was ahead of all his brethren in adopting the new regimen.

Yet he did not campaign for these reforms; his soul was engrossed in the blessed hope of the soon-coming Christ, and he counted the reforms but the fruit of that hope within him. Serene and energetic, he went on his way, never faltering, never fainting, while his brethren not yet in the full light of health reform were suffering disorders brought on by their own habits of life. They watched him, and they learned. Pioneers as they were, and for the most part young, they followed in the trail of the older man, the captain of pioneers, whom all loved, whose name evoked in them a glow of appreciation and affection whenever they spoke it—"Brother Bates."

¹ See Appendix.

² Joseph Bates, *The Early Life and Later Experience and Labors of Elder Joseph Bates*, pp. 280-295; James White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller*, pp. 270-278; F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 160-162.

³ Bates states that it was the *Baltimore Patriot*; the editorial comment has been found by F. D. Nichol (*The Midnight Cry*, p. 184n) in the *Newark Daily Advertiser*, no files of the *Patriot* being available. It might have been copied, or Bates may have been mistaken in this particular.

⁴ A free rendering of a general statement of Bates's reply in his *Life*, pages 271, 272.

⁵ Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, pp. 176, 177; Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 259; F. D. Nichol, *op. cit.*, p. 180; LeRoy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 4 (in preparation).

⁶ See Appendix.

⁷ The "press gang" was the shore institution by which the British largely manned their navy, as the "right of search and seizure" was the method on the high seas. The impressment of American citizens into the British service was a chief cause of the War of 1812.

⁸ Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁹ During the War of 1812 the city of New Bedford was divided, that part lying on the east of the Acushnet River being called Fairhaven. This was Bates's home till 1858, when he removed to Monterey, Michigan. But New Bedford being the larger and more famous city, and their harbor being the same, Fairhaven is usually submerged in its former city relationship.

¹⁰ Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 148, 155, 172, 184, 193, 228, 314-319.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 319.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 179.

¹⁴ See Appendix.

¹⁵ See Appendix.

¹⁶ Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 214.

¹⁷ He was Bill Dunn, of course, everywhere else; but one of Captain Bates's rules was that every man was to be called not by a nickname or a diminutive but by his full first name.

¹⁸ *Review and Herald*, Dec. 5, 1865, p. 7.

¹⁹ On file in County Court, Allegan, Michigan.

²⁰ Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 312.

²¹ See Appendix.

²² Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

JAMES WHITE, INTREPID LEADER

HOW far from home?" cried the poet pilgrim to the watchman on the wall. And from his high tower—

"the watchman spake:
"The long, dark night is almost gone,
The morning soon will break.'"

The pilgrim turned to another:

"I asked the warrior on the field;
This was his 'soul-inspiring song:
'With courage, bold, the sword I'll wield,
The battle is not long.'"¹

Thus Annie R. Smith, clear-voiced poet of early Seventh-day Adventist days, envisaged in one of her songs "the warrior on the field," who may well have been that same Christian hero enumerated among others, in her "blessed hope" hymn:

"And one I saw, with sword and shield,
Who boldly braved the world's cold frown,
And fought, unyielding on the field,
To win an everlasting crown.
Though worn with toil, oppressed by foes,
No murmur from his heart arose;
I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
'O this!' said he—"the blessed hope.'"²

That was James White,† intrepid, resourceful, far-seeing, eager leader of the infant Seventh-day Adventist Church, who in the early decades of its history had a chief part: first, in framing the doctrines and bringing out a people to stand upon

* Except where otherwise indicated, this chapter is based upon James White's autobiographical *Life Sketches* and its later extension, editions of 1880, 1888.

† His birth certificate shows a middle name—Springer—which he never used.



them; second, in promoting and organizing the ecclesiastical polity; and third, in founding and managing the institutions—corporate church, publishing, health, and educational—which make up the pillars of this cause. He was, it is true, but one of several who shared in the work. At the start particularly he depended upon, while he worked with, the pioneer Joseph Bates. From beginning to end he was supported, encouraged, and often guided by his gifted wife, Ellen G. White. He had early such strong supporters as John N. Andrews, John N. Loughborough, Uriah Smith, J. H. Waggoner, and others less noted; and before he laid the armor off, important positions were-being worthily filled by what may be called the second line of warriors, of whom mention will be made in due time. But none so bore the brunt of the battle, none so “boldly braved the world’s cold frown, and fought, unyielding” in the strife, “though worn with toil, oppressed by foes,” as this “warrior on the field.”

James White came of sturdy New England stock, his ancestors being among the earliest settlers who came to American shores. He was the fifth in a family of nine children. His father, Deacon John White, was possessed of great strength of body as well as mind, and his mother likewise, these two ending their lives but a few months apart when well past fourscore. But James was a feeble child; and, because of illness, until he reached middle adolescence he was unable to study regularly, and so felt himself inferior to his companions. However, at sixteen, his health improving, he began to make rapid strides in his schoolwork, so that when he was nineteen years of age he was teaching common school, while continuing his studies and aiming at a college education.

Having been born in 1821, he was just on the threshold of young manhood when he first heard of the teachings of William Miller and listened to one or two Millerite speakers. He had been baptized in the Christian Church at the age of fifteen, but ambition had now buried his religious experience under the urge to reach great heights in the world of education; and at

James White was a man of sanguine and ardent temperament, possessing those qualities of thoroughness, far-sightedness, and dispatch which mark the born leader.

first he scornfully spurned the doctrine of the Second Advent and its related truths.

However, in the spring of 1841, returning home to Palmyra, Maine, from a term of teaching school in near-by Troy, he found his mother deeply interested in the subject, and his father soberly studying it. In the arrogance of youth he undertook to enlighten his mother as to the error of her ways, but was discomfited at every onset. With increased respect for his mother's mental powers and religious knowledge, he decided he had better study his Bible a little more to find ammunition. But the enterprise backfired—the more he studied, the more he was convinced that he was wrong and that his mother and Miller were right. Meanwhile, his father continued studying and weighing the evidence; though, cautious and sure, he delayed acceptance until the next year. The Whitbyan doctrine³ taught the postmillennial return of Christ, the presumption that a thousand years would precede the personal appearance and reign of Christ during which time the world would be converted. This teaching had by this time made great inroads into Christian belief, until it was generally accepted by Christians of every faith, who thus put off the coming of Christ for at least ten centuries. This belief, firmly fixed in John White's mind, was for some time a deterrent to his acceptance of the imminent return of Christ. His son James, however, seems to have renounced the Whitbyan theory even before hearing the views of Miller.⁴

James White was of a sanguine and ardent temperament; whatever he undertook he did with his whole soul. He was a born leader—a David. His two older brothers, who were preachers, deferred to him; and his father and mother, strong-minded as they were, came to respect his powers, and in later years to follow his lead, ending their lives in the faith which he proclaimed. All his co-workers felt the dynamic power of his spirit, and there were to rally about him a whole people—children, youth, and the mature—a great modern day movement on the march.

But now in his youth it was no easy thing to bring that proud and ambitious spirit under control. Like a mettlesome colt which, once trained, would be a most valuable horse, he was hard to break. After his conviction from discussions with his mother and from study, he felt impelled to go back and talk with his students, some of whom were older than he. But, like Jonah, he ran away from duty. Out in his father's fields, where he sought peace in work, he was driven to the grove by the Spirit. Still rebelling, he rose from his knees, and with clenched fist and stamping foot declared, "I will not go!" In five minutes he was packing his clothes and books for Newport Academy, about four miles away. But once there and enrolled, he found it impossible to study. Yielding so far, he left and walked to the neighborhood of Troy, nearly fifteen miles away, there visiting and praying with his former students and patrons. Though blessed in this experience, he could not make up his mind to give all, and during the summer of 1842 was very unsettled; yet he made his maiden effort to lecture two or three times on the Second Advent.

In September, Miller, Himes, Preble, and other Second Advent speakers came to eastern Maine and held a camp meeting, which young White attended. Under the preaching of Miller, James White perceived that the subject required deeper study than he had so far given it. Yet the time was short; he could not spend fifteen years, as Miller had, in study before he began to preach. But he had the fruit of that study; he had bought the small books put forth by the Adventist leaders, and the prophetic chart which had just been perfected by Charles Fitch. With these and his Bible before him he spent several weeks in close study, and then prepared three lectures: the first to meet objections from opponents, the second to marshal "the signs of the times," and the third on the prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7.

Now who would support him in the lecture field? There was no church organization of Adventists; there was no fund to support preachers, especially callow young preachers; and,

unlike Joseph Bates, he had no wealth of his own to finance him. He had, indeed, nothing, for he had spent his last teacher's pay for necessary clothing and books. James White, how foolish for you to suppose that, young and inexperienced and poverty stricken as you are, you must go out to preach the second coming! Stay at home and help your father, or go and teach a school. Plenty of them would welcome you!

Not he; not the "warrior on the field"! His will now was yielded to God; his face was set like a flint Zionward; and though the path upon which he was entering was to carry him far beyond the horizon he now saw, and though it was strewn with obstacles and discouragements and pains beyond human endurance, he was not to turn back or fail, for his hold on God was to grow with the months and years.⁵

"Well, James," said his father, "if you must go (and I believe you must, for God is in this), I'll give you the use of a horse for the winter. And may the God of our fathers support and bless you."

"And, James," said good old Moses Polley, Christian minister who had accompanied him to Miller's camp meeting, "I have a saddle, or pieces of a saddle, and several straps that have belonged to a bridle; and if you will fix them up, you may have them for your horse."

James White united the saddle tree and its divorced pads. He also nailed together the pieces of the bridle, and succeeded in making something a little better than a hackamore. Then, saddling up, and buttoning his chart and books inside his winter coat, he rode away and spent the aging autumn in the towns near his birthplace giving lectures which developed from the original three into seven.

Substituting one week for a friend as schoolteacher at Burnham, he used the opportunity to call out the neighborhood for evening lectures. His growing spiritual power was evidenced in sixty sinners standing up for prayers. Dismayed at the pastoral responsibilities so suddenly thrust upon him when, as he says, his "little pond of thought . . . had run out," the

youth sent for his older brother, Samuel, a Christian minister, who came and carried on a revival that resulted in the formation of a large church.

An interested hearer invited James White to the valley of the Kennebec, where the inviter said the numerous Freewill Baptists would welcome him. In January of 1843 he rode south and west toward the Kennebec and Augusta, capital of the State; and in the environs of this city he found the way open to preach at a country schoolhouse. But while perhaps the majority of the people were Christians in one or another church, the community was also a hotbed of Universalists. These brought from Augusta one of their leading men, an editor, to oppose White. At the first service this editor asked that the young preacher hold his audience for him to address after the meeting. But James White left that to the congregation who, with a few exceptions chose to leave. Angered by this, the Universalist plotted with the rough element that remained with him to mob the preacher the next night.

James White was informed of the prospect, but after prayer he decided to meet the situation. Arrived at the schoolhouse, he found it filled with Christian people, mostly women and children. The windows were open to accommodate the crowd outside. Infiltrated through this crowd and dominating it, were the members of the mob. As the meeting opened they began their attack, with catcalls, howls, snowballs, and other missiles. The crowded house trembled from the violence of the mob, and the speaker's voice could no longer be heard.

Closing his Bible, the young preacher entered upon a description of the terrors of the judgment day. His voice now soared above the roaring of the mob as he cried, "Repent, and call on God for mercy and pardon. Turn to Christ and get ready for His coming, or in a little from this, on rocks and mountains you will call in vain. You scoff now, but you will pray then."

The noise of the mob sank. Taking from his pocket an iron spike, James White lifted it before their eyes, and said, "Some



PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

In the middle section of this New England farmhouse James White was born August 4, 1821, at Palmyra, Maine.

poor sinner cast this spike at me last evening. God pity him! The worst wish I have for him is, that he is at this moment as happy as I am. Why should I resent this insult when my Master had them driven through His hands?" As his vibrant voice pierced to their souls, he dramatized his words by stepping back against the wall and raising his arms in the attitude of one hanging upon the cross.

A general groan ran through the crowd. Some shrieked. "Hark! Hark!" cried a score of voices. In a moment all was still. Fervently the preacher called on sinners to turn from their evil ways and live. He spoke of the love of God, of the sacrifice of Christ, of His undying pity for sinners, and of His soon coming in glory. The audience was in tears. Calling for all who desired prayer, he saw nearly a hundred rise. He prayed for them; then, taking his chart and Bible, he made his way through the hushed, bowed audience. Outside the door, as he faced the now silent but still menacing mob, a man of noble countenance, familiar yet unknown, stepped up, and locking arms with him, made a way through the parting crowd. Free from them, James White turned to thank his protector, but none was there.

The next few months (the same period in which Bates and Gurney were preaching and singing in Maryland) saw this stripling David cutting down more than one Goliath and by his deeds silencing more than one Eliab. He grew in power and in repute among Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Christians, among whom he labored. In the summer of 1843 he was ordained to the ministry in the Christian denomination.

In the autumn of that year, in company with his father and two of his sisters, he started for the Maine Eastern Christian Conference, to be held in the town of Knox. Overtaken by a storm, they spent a night in a wayside tavern. The White family were all musical, Father John White having followed, among other useful occupations, the profession of vocal music teacher. That evening the landlord and his guests were entertained by the White Second Advent Quartet, with songs of the coming. And in the morning the proprietor canceled their bill and cordially invited them to make his place their home whenever they might.

Song was a great instrument in James White's ministry. Again and again he tells of the powerful influence arising from the Advent songs which he and members of his family sang in their meetings and along the way. He passed the talent on to two of his sons. A writer testifies of the electric effect in the little meetinghouse on Van Buren Street, in Battle Creek, Michigan, when almost at the end of his days the venerable Elder White would come marching in from the rear, singing down the aisle to the platform, while voice after voice took up the cheering notes.⁶

Here at Knox, in the conference session, the twenty-two-year-old preacher found that his fame had arrived before him. Most of the ministers present wanted to hear him, for the Christian denomination in Maine had become deeply imbued with the Advent hope. But at this stage some were drawing back, and no one spoke the message. On the last day of the conference young White was urged by several to speak. He felt

his immaturity, and he recognized that at this final meeting the best man among them was usually selected to speak. But several were impressed that it was his time, and urged him. Withdrawing from the conference, he prayed for guidance, and decided that he would go in and press his way toward the pulpit; then if the ministers there gave him opportunity, he would speak.

Entering the meeting place, he saw a minister of age and experience sitting immediately behind the big pulpit Bible on the desk, and knew that this man had been selected to give the last discourse. As he approached, however, his brother Samuel and another minister sitting on the platform stepped down to meet him. Taking hold of his arms, they conducted him to the ministers' sofa, declaring he should have the chance if he would speak. At his direction his brother Samuel gave out an Advent hymn, and Brother Chalmers prayed. When the prayer was concluded, it appeared that the big Bible was on James's lap, and he was looking up proof texts. His intentions were evident, but no one rebuked him or made a motion to dispossess him of the Bible; they were all chained to their seats. Another hymn. Then James White moved forward to the desk, while "Amen" rang through the house. He preached on the second coming, to the rejoicing of the great majority of the audience. At the close the Lord's supper was administered; and while preparation was being made for this, James White and his sisters sang the Advent song, "You Will See Your Lord a Coming," punctuated with shouts of "Glory!" from the congregation. Many were in tears, while responses of "Amen!" and "Praise the Lord!" resounded through the house.

Different reviewers will have contrary comments to make on this course of James White at the conference. It is recited here to throw a keen light upon the character of the man and his dominant personality. His action was not strictly in order; yet it was approved by the majority of the conference. He was young, perhaps the youngest man among them; yet he was selected by the more mature to be the spokesman for the

Advent. The opposing party were conservative and cold; the Advent party were receptive and fervent. Though there were among them mature and deliberate men, they required, as often happens, a young and dynamic spokesman to voice their sentiments and lead their attack. The man for the occasion was young James White.

As there have ever been, there were in the 1840's different types of religionists and different schools of thought and feeling in the churches. On the ultraconservative side were the most scholastic men, whose religious experience was almost wholly intellectual, men who deprecated the indulgence or permission of emotion in religious exercises, believing it was detrimental to true religion. The Unitarian and the Episcopal, and to some extent the Presbyterian and the Congregational churches, were largely composed of that class. They were well represented by Noah Webster, the lexicographer, learned and supercilious, who wrote to William Miller: "Your preaching can be of no use to society but it is a great annoyance. If you expect to frighten men and women into religion, you are probably mistaken. . . . If your preaching drives people into despair or insanity, you are responsible for the consequences. I advise you to abandon your preaching; you are doing no good, but you may do a great deal of harm." 7

There was a second class, a combination of naturally impetuous men whose scholastic training provided a brake upon their feelings, and of less well-educated men whose natural imperturbability made them deprecate too enthusiastic demonstrations, yet whose deep sensibilities sometimes carried them beyond their set bounds. This blended class was well illustrated in Joshua V. Himes, a school-trained but enthusiastic man, and William Miller, a practical man of a warm but eminently judicial nature. Himes, like White, was a Christian; Miller, a Baptist. The Baptists were considerably divided, the Freewill branch leaning much to the hearty Methodist type of religion, and the regular or Hard-Shell Baptists to the conservative type. William Miller was naturally conservative. In the midst of his

public career he wrote to a ministerial friend, Truman Hendryx, "I make no use of anxious seats" but "depend wholly on the power of the Spirit."⁸ After the disappointment he wrote to Himes and Bliss of some Adventist meetings: "A thousand expressions were used, without thought or reflection, and I thought sometimes very irreverently, such as, 'Bless God,' etc. . . . I have often obtained more evidence of inward piety from a *kindling eye*, a *wet cheek*, and a *choked utterance*, than from all the *noise* in Christendom."⁹

But there has always been a third class of men whose spirits rise at the reception of glorious tidings, and who cannot refrain from shouting their approval. In varying degrees all men partake of this spirit of enthusiasm, though with some it takes tremendous pressure of excitement to evoke a cheer. At the other extreme the uninhibited are liable to run into fanatical extravagance. In the middle are those who believe not only with the mind but with the heart, who catch so vivid a vision of their hope's fulfillment that they are fain to emulate the glorious beings around the throne who continually cry, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!"¹⁰

A century ago and more this spirit was a prominent characteristic of the Methodist Church, caught and shared by not a few others, such as the Freewill Baptists and the Christians. Doubtless Miller's reprehension was well merited by some; others were sincere but naturally exuberant and freely expressive. To this warmhearted brotherhood James White belonged. Let them condemn who will. Noah Webster gloomed, "You are doing no good; cease your preaching." William Miller testified, "I deprecate the loud 'Amen's' and 'Praise God's.'" But James White shouted, "Glory! Hallelujah!"

Isaac Wellcome, who was baptized by James White (to his later regret, he avers), describes him as "a young man of much zeal and ambition," who "ran well for a season, though too positive on time arguments," until after the disappointment he got a new vision of the event, and "traveled through the country 'to strengthen the little bands,' as the companies were

then called, confirming those who would listen, and convincing the wavering, in the idea that it was all of God.”¹¹

A blessed vision indeed, and a blessed work. We shall see James White, after the disappointment, a leader emerging from the general fog of misconception, waverings, and consequent fanaticism into the light of the sanctuary truth and the fuller understanding of prophecy, strengthening the weak hands, confirming the feeble knees, saying to them that were of fearful heart, “Be strong, fear not; behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompence; He will come and save you.”¹²

¹ *The Church Hymnal* (S.D.A.), no. 665.

² *Ibid.*, no. 371.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 17, 18.

⁵ See dream of Mrs. E. G. White in her *Christian Experience and Teachings*, pp. 179-184.

⁶ W. A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement*, pp. 146, 147.

⁷ Harry R. Warfel, *Noah Webster Schoolmaster to America*, p. 434.

⁸ William Miller letter to Truman Hendryx, May 19, 1841 (quoted in Nichol, *op. cit.*, p. 84).

⁹ Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller*, p. 282; James White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller*, p. 319.

¹⁰ Revelation 4:8.

¹¹ Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, pp. 401, 404.

¹² Isaiah 35:4.



CHAPTER 4

THE LORD'S CHOSEN MESSENGER

IT WAS in the last days of the 1844 Second Advent Movement. Hazen Foss, a well-educated, personable young man of Poland, Maine, a believer in the imminent Second Advent, had a vision before the disappointment in which were revealed the experience of the Adventist people through that troublous time, and their ultimate triumph. The vision was repeated, and he was bidden to tell his people what had been shown him.¹ But Foss was mindful of the strong sentiment against visions and dreams² which had been built up in the Adventist ranks by the warnings and attitudes of the leaders. Without doubt the caution of Miller, Himes, Bliss, and others had secured the movement against extravagances. The fanaticism of John Starkweather in Boston and of C. R. Gorgas in Philadelphia, which were in part based upon pretended revelations, were examples of what might have been the fate of the Millerite movement had free rein been given to the most unstable elements. And Foss dreaded to put himself in the category of the dream prophets.

Yet mankind's faith in significant dreams is as ancient as the race.³ God Himself certifies the dream and the vision as two of His means of communicating with men: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream."⁴ The history of the people of God is dotted with dreams and visions which have warned against error, revealed great truths, and foretold vitally important events. A large number of God's spokesmen, not only in the Jewish, but also in the Christian dispensation, have received instruction from God in dreams and visions, which have guided them and their peoples. And in connection with a prophecy of the last days, amid "wonders in the heavens and in the earth," when "the sun shall be

turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come," God expressly declares, "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions."⁵

But skepticism of dreams and visions as revelations of the mind of God has marched beside faith. Apart from the incredulity of materialistic scientists, there has been much sober reason for this: Many times common and meaningless dreams have been given significance by the dreamers, there have been many counterfeit prophets whose dreams or visions were not from God, and sometimes fanaticism of the rankest kind has been upheld by purported revelations. God, through that same Moses by whom He endorsed the dream and vision, also warned against the false prophet: "If there arise among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams . . . saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams," but he "shall be put to death."⁶ And through Jeremiah God says, "I have heard what the prophets said, that prophesy lies in my name, saying, I have dreamed, I have dreamed. . . . They are prophets of the deceit of their own heart."⁷ The apostolic church in which, it is declared, God set prophecy as one of the spiritual gifts,⁸ yet had confusion among ostensible prophets;⁹ and the Protestant Reformation was plagued by the folly of the extremists who were guided by assumed personal revelations.

The Adventist leaders of 1844 were possibly hypersensitive and allergic to all occult influences because a segment of the English Second Advent believers had gone to extremes in the matter of spiritual gifts. They feared for the reputation and the success of the American movement in which they were prime agents. Himes suppressed Starkweather with a stern hand; Litch opposed Gorgas's fantasy. Bates was highly skeptical of all supernatural manifestations, and Miller protested that he had no faith in visions and dreams. Yet every one of

them had some dreams to which they gave interpretations and by which, to a greater or lesser extent, they were guided in their subsequent activities.

Indeed, it seems to be an almost universal human experience; there are few men who have not at some time had dreams which they believed to be revelatory. The truth seems to be that to the men of 1844 dreams and visions were under suspicion when employed by those in whom they had no confidence because of character defects or doctrinal divergences, but were countenanced and usually firmly accepted when the dreams and visions came to themselves or to others in whom they had confidence—a very natural, if not wholly trustworthy, attitude. Beyond that, according to everyone's ability in the discerning of spirits, the dream messages were checked for inherent truth. "Such dreams, taking into account the persons who have them, and the circumstances under which they are given, contain their own proofs of their genuineness."¹⁰

But all human reasonings and disputations aside, it is the testimony of the Holy Scriptures that in these last days the gift of prophecy shall be vouchsafed to the church. This promise is in both Testaments of the Bible. Joel, the prophet of doom, presents, in that commingling of the Advents characteristic of the Old Testament Messianic prophecies, the prediction of the prophetic gift, when "the day of the Lord" is imminent: "Turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and weeping, and with mourning; and rend your heart and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God." "Then will the Lord be jealous for his land, and pity his people . . . and ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and that I am the Lord your God." "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit." There follows a description of the signs in the heavens which herald the coming

of the Lord, signs again predicted, in the New Dispensation, by the Lord Jesus and by John.¹¹

In the clearer light of the New Testament, the history of the church is traced in symbolic language by John in Revelation, where appears "a great wonder in heaven," a woman (the church), bearing a man child (the Christ), but persecuted by a great dragon ("the devil, and Satan"), fleeing into the wilderness, where she is nourished through "a time, times, and half a time," 1260 day-years, until in the end "the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed"—how distinguished? By two things: they "keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus." That testimony, it is explained in a later passage, "is the spirit of prophecy."¹² Thus there is brought to view the last-day church, which stresses the immutability of the law of God, and which has, as a further safeguard and guide, the Spirit of prophecy. And as prophecy foretold, so has history fulfilled.

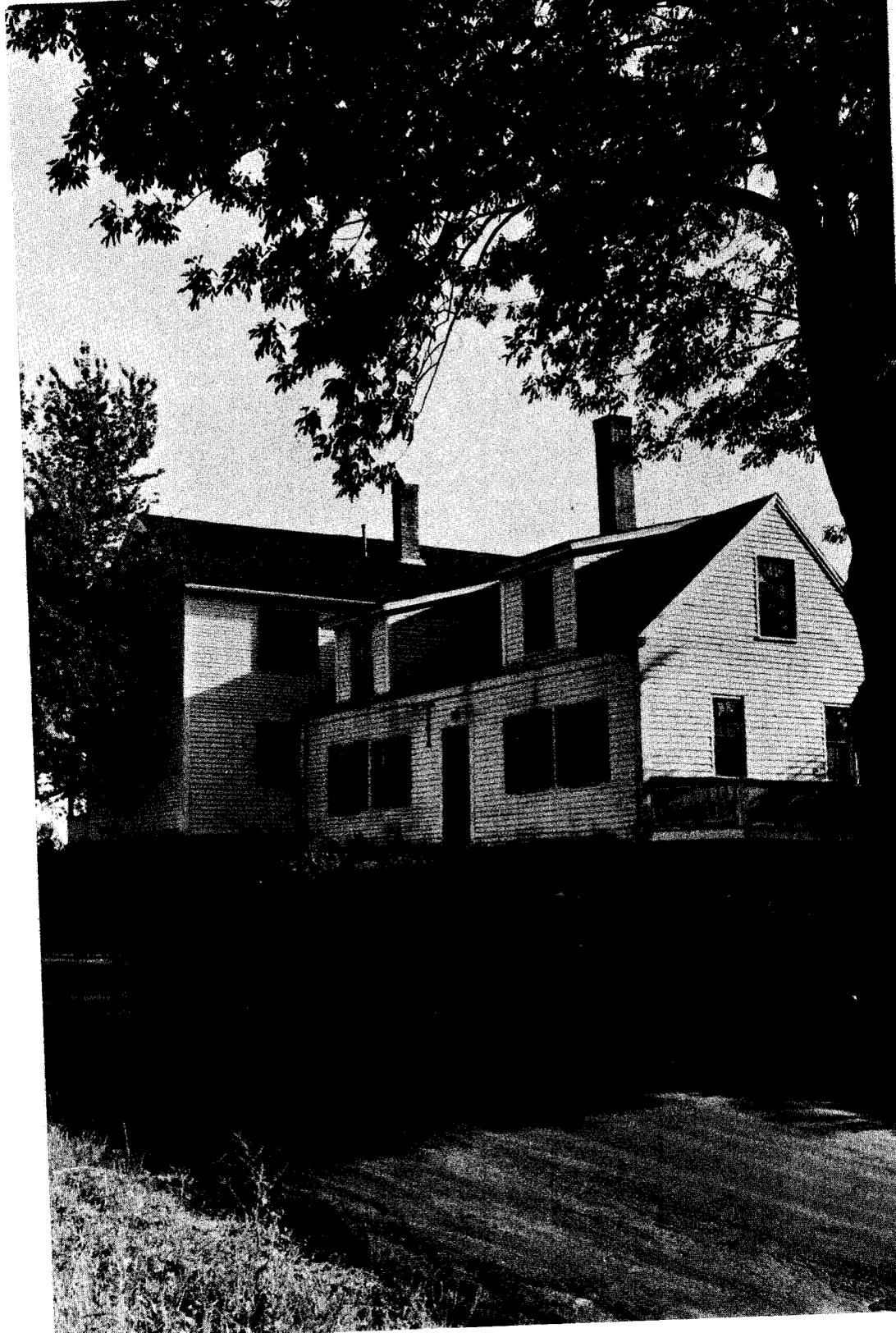
It was shortly after the "passing of the time," October 22, 1844, that Hazen Foss had his last vision, in which God told him that the burden was taken from him and given to "the weakest of the weak." Suddenly awakened to the enormity of his stubbornness, he resolved, like Israel at Kadesh-barnea, to repent and do God's bidding. But it was too late. He sent out an appointment, and the people gathered to hear him. He told them his experience. "And now," said he, "I will relate the vision." But he could not. Dumb as a statue he stood before them, unable to remember a single word. Wringing his hands in anguish, he cried, "God has taken the vision from me. I am a lost man!"

Three months later, brooding alone in a room in a house (possibly his sister's), he secretly listened to a meeting which he had refused to attend, and he heard related by another the vision he had forgotten. It was like a Nebuchadnezzar recognizing his dream in the revelation of a Daniel. The next morning, meeting the speaker, a frail young woman, he said to her, "I believe the visions are taken from me and given to you. Do

not refuse to obey God, for it will be at the peril of your soul. I am a lost man. You are chosen of God; be faithful in doing your work, and the crown I might have had, you will receive." ¹³ The young woman was Ellen Gould Harmon, for seventy years to be God's messenger to His people.

In 1837, Ellen, a nine-year-old girl in Portland, Maine, was going home from school with her twin sister and another schoolmate when she was struck in the face with a stone thrown by an older girl. It was a fateful blow. She was unconscious for three weeks; none but her mother thought she would live. Her nose was broken, and the features of her face were so changed that her father, returning from a long business journey several weeks afterward, did not know her. The crude surgery of that day had no means to remedy the disfigurement. But more than that, the shock to her nervous system and the illness which followed, with succeeding complications, continued for years to make her an invalid and to present a constant threat to her life. She was unable to study; and though the next year, and again three years later, she made heroic attempts to resume her schoolwork, in which, even so young, she had had great ambition, she was compelled to give it up, and never again did she enter man's school.

Ellen Gould Harmon was born November 26, 1827, in Gorham, Maine, near Portland, to which city the family soon removed. She was a sunny, animated, happy child, quick, resolute, persevering, sociable, with the normal religious spirit absorbed from a deeply devoted but practical-minded Methodist family. With her twin sister Elizabeth, she came at the end of an eight-child family. Their father was a hatter; and, as was the custom in the age of home industries, the whole family, two boys and six girls, in turn had their parts in weaving the straws, pressing the felts, and shaping the hats. As for Ellen, her accident interrupted this program for several years, when again she was given the lightest work, that of shaping the crowns,¹⁴ though she had to do it propped up in bed. The money she thus earned, about twenty-five cents a day, she put



into a fund which, in a pact with her sisters Elizabeth and Sarah, they devoted to missionary purposes.

About a year before her accident Ellen, one day on her way to school, had picked up a scrap of newspaper containing an account of a man in England who preached that the world would come to its end in some thirty years.¹⁵ This made a great impression upon her mind but the prevalent doctrine that Christ would appear only after a thousand years of world conversion soon effaced the idea. Now, however, in her illness her world seemed coming to its end; she prayed the Lord to prepare her for death, and she found great peace and happiness.

But she was not to die. Who in those days would have predicted that, of all her family, or of her circle of friends, or of her church, or of the Second Advent people, she, the invalid child, emaciated, unnerved, timid, incapable of study, would live the longest, rise above all infirmities, face courageously the forces of fanaticism and disintegration, endure the most bitter opposition and abuse, become the champion of great moral reforms, prove the greatest soul winner, write immortal books, teach and build exemplary systems of education, health, church polity, and evangelism? "But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."¹⁶

In the year 1840, and again in 1842, William Miller came to Portland, at the invitation of L. D. Fleming, pastor of the Casco Street Christian church, and gave there a series of lectures on the Second Advent. The Harmon family from the first were attracted to these teachings, and in the interval of two years found fellowship with the believers in Christ's coming, without any separation from their Methodist communion. There was no intention on the part of Miller or his associates to make a separate body of Advent believers, and during this period there was little if any move made by the churches to cast them out. Portland, being the metropolis of Maine, was the most prominent theater of action, but the whole State was

PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

In the bedroom marked by the left dormer window of this historic old house near Gorham, Maine, Ellen G. White was born November 26, 1827.

astir. Josiah Litch, when he preceded William Miller to the State in 1840, wrote, "The prospects appear better for the truth concerning the Lord's soon coming to take effect in Maine, than in any other State in New England."¹⁷ And this proved to be the case. Maine was to be, proportionate to its population, the greatest stronghold of Adventism for the next two or three decades.

Some thirty ministers of the Methodist Conference were preaching the message throughout the State, and the clergy in the Christian and the Baptist, especially the Freewill Baptist, churches were even more active. Among them we note the Christian Fleming and Chalmers, the Methodist Cox and Stockman, the Freewill Baptist Andrew Rollins and Joel Spaulding, and the Baptist Deacon John Pearson ("Father Pearson"), whose son John, Jr., became a preacher of the Advent and associated with James White.

In the six years from 1837 to 1843 the child Ellen Harmon passed through a spiritual experience and crisis so deep, so thorough, so tragic, and so triumphant that it reminds us of the mortal struggle of Martin Luther to find his God. He was a young man; she was a child; but the circumstances of her life had magnified the child apprehension, and in certain aspects projected her religious consciousness beyond childhood, and her soul wrestled with problems which normally come years later.

At first her deep humiliation, augmented by the contemptuous or pitying attitude of others, closed her in upon herself. The resignation of her sickbed was gone; she rebelled against her fate. She felt her ambitious plans thwarted, her life ruined; and she longed to die. Yet, counting herself an unworthy sinner, she feared. She could not weep readily like her twin sister; and often, waiting until Elizabeth was asleep, she crept from her bed and spent long hours kneeling and praying hopelessly. Her health steadily declined; she contracted a persistent cough, the beginning of the tubercular trouble which afflicted her until her twentieth year. Though her mother was

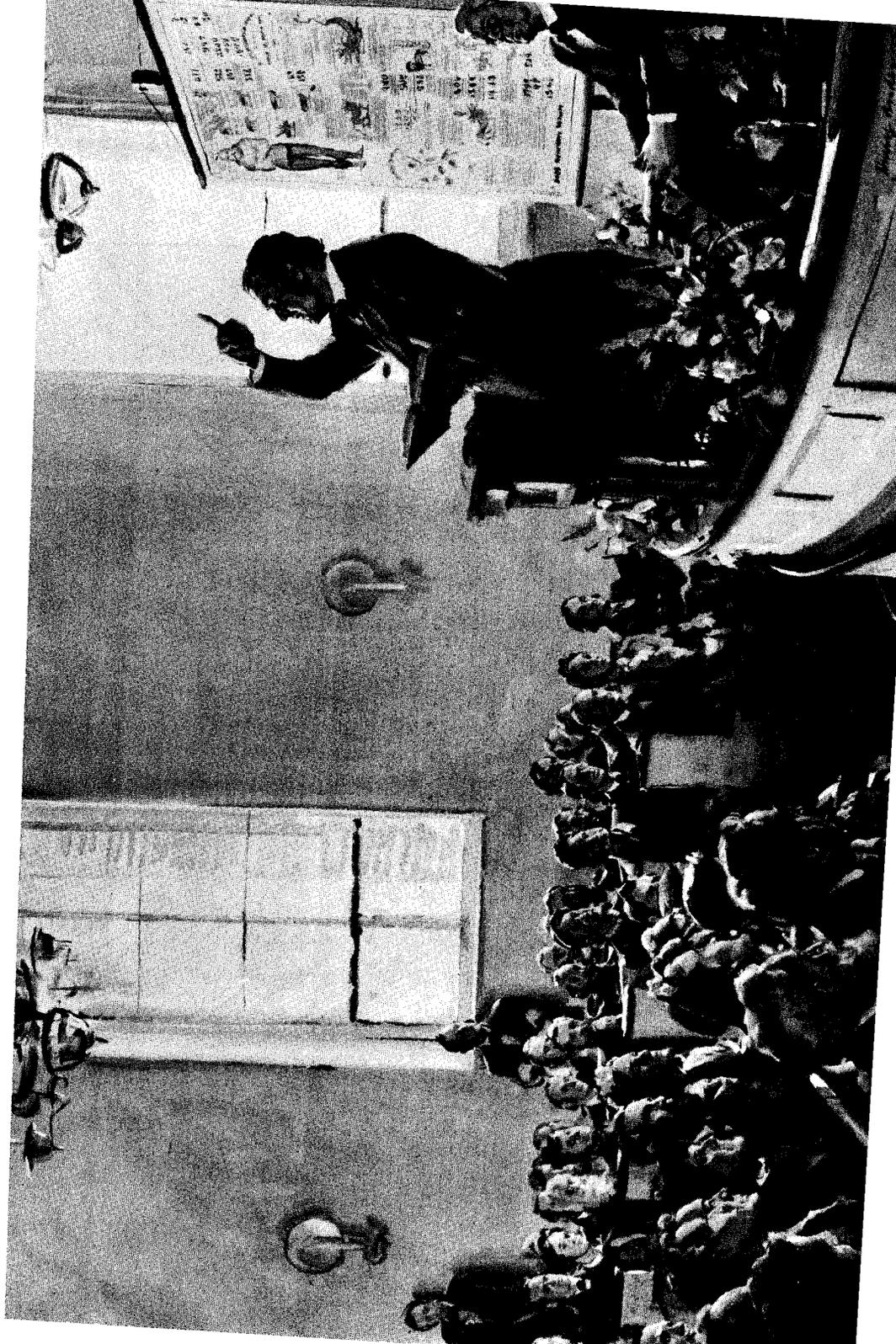
an understanding and loving woman, and though her brother Robert and her sister Sarah, respectively two and five years older, were very sympathetic to her, she confided her thoughts to none. Reserved and lonely, she fought her way through. How changed indeed from the girl of her early years!

She was twelve years old when William Miller came to Portland in March, 1840. With the rest of the family, she attended his lectures. His clear exposition and above all his kind, fatherly attitude toward poor sinners and seekers drew her Christward; yet in her self-abasement she felt she could never become worthy to be a child of God. For the first time, however, she approached her brother Robert with some intimation of her difficulties, and his response of hope and faith and his promise of prayer was a buoy in her sea of despair.¹⁸ Still she drifted.

In the summer of 1840 her parents took her with them to the Methodist camp meeting at Buxton. Resolved by an illuminating sermon to go in before the King, "and if I perish, I perish," she pressed forward with the throng of anxious seekers. And suddenly, kneeling at the altar, she felt the burden roll from her shoulders, and her heart was light. So unexpectedly relieved, she felt at first she had no right to this joy; but the presence of Jesus was so precious that she could not deny it. "In that short period, when bowed among the praying ones," she says, "I learned more of the divine character of Christ than ever before."¹⁹

From this point of conversion she went forward in the beauty of God, seeing all nature as an expression of His love and all men as objects of His grace. In accordance with Methodist practice, she was allowed the choice of the mode of baptism; and with eleven others, on a boisterous day, she was immersed in the Atlantic Ocean, coming forth from the tempestuous waves of the sea as a symbol of the world from which she was delivered.

The next three years, however, comprised a period of mingled wine and gall to this struggling young Christian. She



was perplexed in faith and agonized in spirit by some of the theology of her church, especially the doctrines of sanctification and of eternal torment of the damned. In the one matter she could neither find in herself the holiness ascribed to the state of sanctification, nor discern it in some who claimed to be sanctified. In the other matter, the doctrine of an eternally burning hell, with "sinners in the hands of an angry God," comported illy with her personal experience in Jesus; yet at times, under the influence of sermons, she felt herself being shaken into those everlasting flames. In the midst of this religious turmoil she attempted again, in 1841, to enter school; and her experience in the seminary among fashionable and worldly girls, greatly discouraged her. Of this she was soon relieved by her inability to pursue her studies; but, borne down by her physical ills and perplexed in faith, she lost the Christian's peace, and again her mental sufferings became unendurable. Groaning and trembling with anguish and hopelessness, she bowed whole nights in prayer with her face to the floor.

In this state she had two dreams in succession. In the first she saw a temple in which a lamb was the object of worship. Thousands of people thronged the temple, receiving pardon and rejoicing in hope. But she could not attain to their state. Suddenly an awful brightness shone; then came intense darkness, and she awoke. The dream deepened her despair. But soon she had another dream, in which, meditating upon Jesus and longing to see Him, she was accosted by a heavenly messenger, who invited her to gather up all her slight belongings and follow him. Conducting her up a frail stairway, at the top her guide bade her lay down all her possessions. He then opened a door, and she entered. "In a moment I stood before Jesus. There was no mistaking that beautiful countenance. That expression of benevolence and majesty could belong to no other. As His gaze rested upon me, I knew at once that He was acquainted with every circumstance of my life and all my inner thoughts and feelings." "Fear not," He said with a smile, and laid His hand upon her head.²⁰

With convincing arguments, supported by scriptural evidence, William Miller preached to great crowds in city after city of the soon coming of Christ. It was when he preached in Portland, Maine, that Ellen Harmon and her family first heard him.

Heartened by this dream, she at last confided all her sorrows and perplexities to her mother, who sympathized with her and encouraged her, and advised her to go for counsel to Elder Stockman.

In the midst of her mental and spiritual struggle, when she was thirteen years of age, William Miller gave his second course of lectures in Portland, at Casco Street church. From this point on, the Methodist Maine Conference took a decided stand against Millerism. At its annual meeting in 1843 it passed a series of resolutions condemning the views of Miller and requiring its ministers to refrain from disseminating them. Discipline was also applied to lay members, and those who refused to conform were disfellowshipped. The Harmon family were among those who were thus cast out. Some ministers were intimidated; others bravely took up the challenge and endured the punishment meted out, being themselves disfellowshipped, and their families cut off from benefits.

One of these undaunted clergymen was Elder L. F. Stockman, of Portland. A lion before his opponents, he was a tender shepherd to his sheep. He would not yield his Advent hope or cease his Christian service. Though cast out, he continued through the ravages of tuberculosis that laid him down in death before the disappointment to give comfort and hope and power to his people.

To him, as advised by her mother, Ellen Harmon went. On hearing her story he placed his hand affectionately on her head, and with tears in his eyes said to her: "Ellen, you are only a child. Yours is a most singular experience for one of your tender age. Jesus must be preparing you for some special work." In simple terms he spoke to her of the love of God, of His providences, and of His plans for His children. He spoke of her early misfortune, and said it was indeed a grievous affliction, but that the hand of God was in it, and in the future life she would discern the wisdom of the providence which had seemed so cruel and mysterious. In the few minutes in which she received instruction from him, she obtained more knowledge

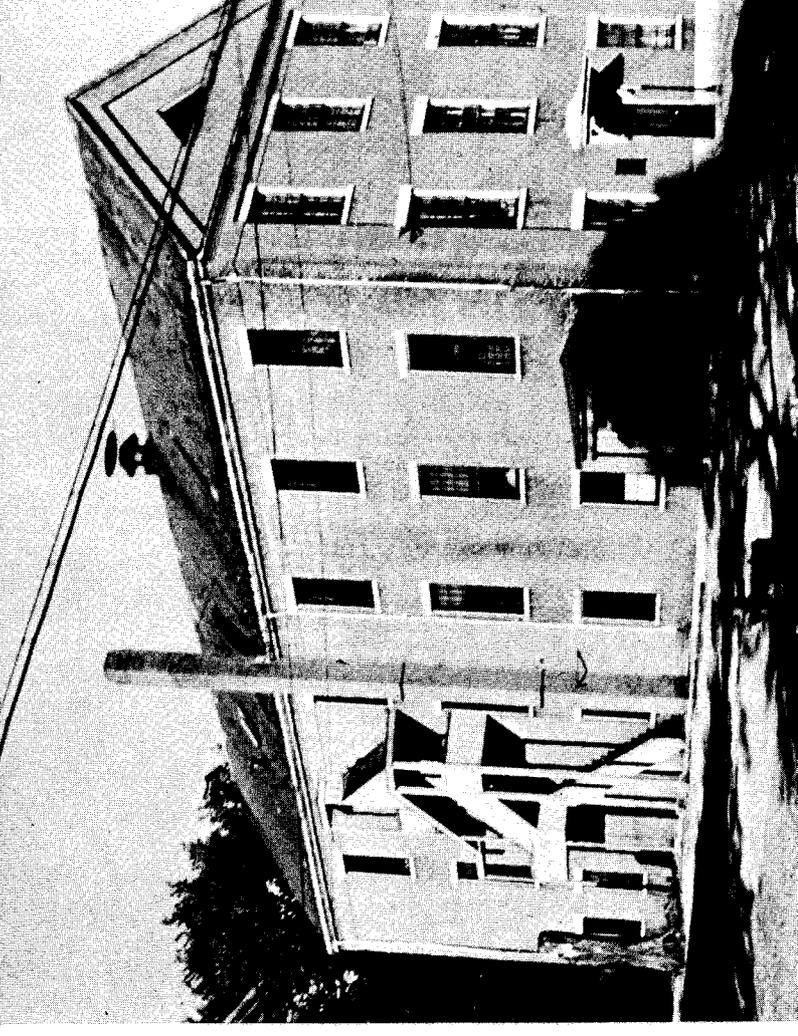
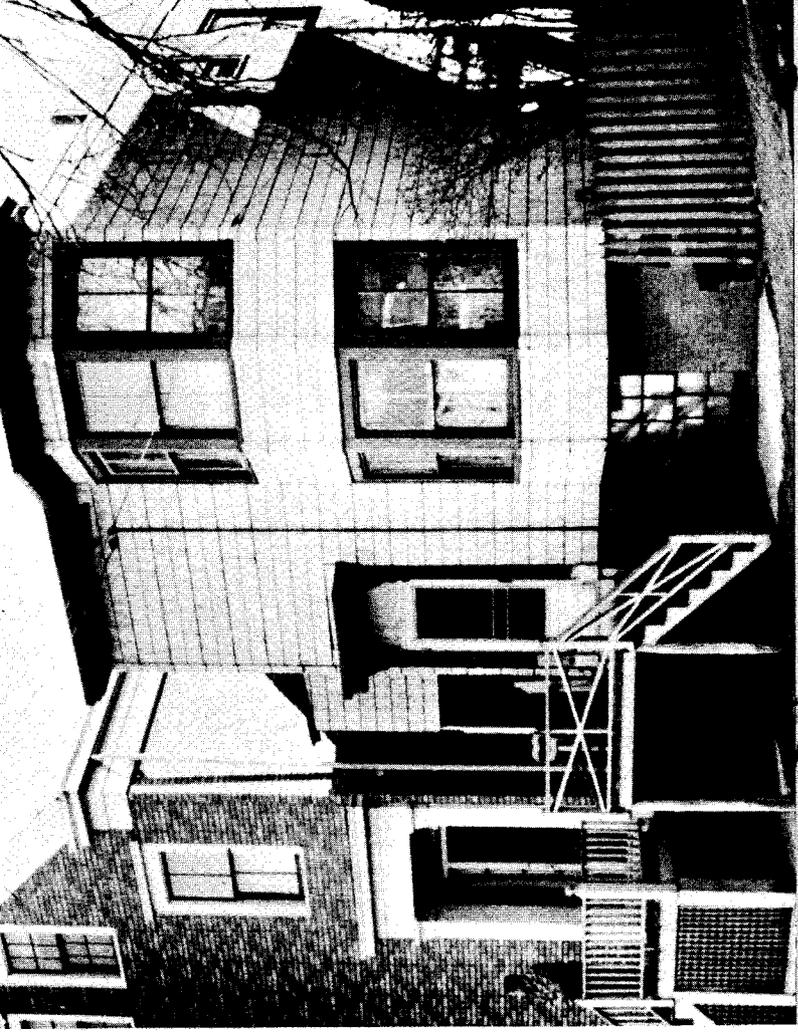
of God's love and pitying tenderness than from all the sermons and exhortations to which she had ever listened.

Timid and retiring, she had hitherto refused to join in public prayer among church members, and this had been one source of deep discouragement to her. Now she resolved to perform this duty. That very evening a prayer meeting was held at her uncle's house; and before she was aware, her voice too arose in prayer. As she prayed, the burden and agony of soul so long endured left, and the Spirit of God rested upon her with overwhelming power, till she was prostrated. Some of those present were greatly alarmed, and proposed to send for a physician; but Ellen's mother bade them be quiet, for she perceived in this the power of God.

From that day Ellen's heart was full of happiness; not a shadow clouded her mind. The theological difficulties were swept away, some by reception of new truth, including the doctrine of immortality only through Christ, and the rest by the flood of the love of Christ. She became a joyous Christian, an earnest personal worker among her friends and acquaintances, securing their conversion. Her testimony and in time her exhortation were so prized by the Adventist ministers of Portland that she was called upon in all their companies for her simple but effective service.

She was now sixteen years old. In the summer of 1844 James White, her future husband, visiting and ministering in Portland, met her and, beholding her Christian service, was deeply impressed by her piety and ardor. At that time, expecting the immediate coming of the Lord, neither of them thought of marriage, which was not to take place until two years later and under very different conditions and expectations.

The day ardently looked for as the day of Christ's appearing came, and passed—the day of disappointment. The effect upon the believers was stunning, but naturally it varied with the degree of their confidence in it. Some were the mixed multitude who easily turned away. Some were self-seekers, and the disappointment made them bitter. Others were sincere and pure



in motive, looking for the vindication of God in the fulfillment of His prophecies; what the disappointment did to them will be portrayed in later chapters.

It was at this juncture that Hazen Foss was bidden to bear his testimony to his bewildered people, but he felt the disappointment very keenly. He said he had been deceived, and after a severe mental conflict he decided he would not relate the vision. It was then that the Spirit of God moved away from him and settled upon a frail girl, "the weakest of the weak." Ellen Harmon passed her seventeenth birthday five weeks after the second disappointment. Before another month had gone by, she received the accolade of God.

One day in December, 1844, she was visiting a dear friend, a Mrs. Haines, in south Portland. There were three other young women with them. Kneeling quietly at the family altar, they prayed together for light and guidance. As they prayed, Ellen Harmon felt the power of God come upon her as she never had felt it before. She seemed to be surrounded with light, and to be rising higher and higher from the earth. Thus she entered into her first vision, in which were depicted the travels and trials of the Advent people on their way to the city of God.²¹ It was in essence the same vision which had been given to Hazen Foss.

Ellen Harmon related this vision to the Adventist believers in Portland, and they received it as from God. A few weeks before, they would not have been united in this belief. They had been acquainted with Ellen from her childhood, and everyone knew her to be sincere and devoted, but they were not then unanimous in approving the manifestations of the power of God upon her, physically and mentally. Elder Stockman, who had delighted in her spiritual progress, now lay in the grave. Deacon ("Father") Pearson, of the Baptist church, and his family, who had come out strongly in the Advent faith, were critical of the manifestation of divine power sometimes resting upon Ellen, which prostrated her in the meetings and took away her strength and consciousness. In very truth the

← PHOTOS BY ARTHUR WHITE

Upper: When she was but a child the parents of Ellen Harmon moved to this home on Clark Street in Portland, Maine. **Lower:** Brick building erected on site of Brackett Street School, which Ellen was attending when she was so seriously injured.

same power had come upon one of the Pearson family, and they regarded this as a mark of divine favor, but they would not grant the same warrant to the young girl. They said there was no doubt of her goodness and sincerity, but they believed that she invited and encouraged the seizures.

But one night in a meeting at which young Elder Pearson was present the same power came again upon Ellen. She rejoiced aloud in the love of God, and then fell unconscious. The young man looked on critically, saying in his heart, "If this is of God, why am I not also thus marked for distinction? Why doesn't Brother R. (a staunch Christian man not otherwise identified) receive some such evidence?" And he prayed a silent prayer: "If this is the holy influence of God, let Brother R. experience it this evening." No sooner had he thought his prayer than Brother R. fell, prostrated by the power of God, crying, "Let the Lord work!"

Young Brother Pearson then confessed that he had been in fault, and asked forgiveness of Sister Ellen. Elderly Brother R., recovering, also bore his testimony, concluding, "Sister Ellen, in future you shall have our help and sustaining sympathy, instead of the cruel opposition that has been shown you." Within a few weeks the entire Pearson family had experienced a remarkable outpouring of the Spirit in their own home. Cold formality began to melt before the mighty influence of the Holy Spirit, and the Portland company, some sixty in number, were united in support of Ellen. Thus God smoothed the first steps of the path He was bidding His child to walk upon, that she might not find insuperable obstacles at the very beginning.

But shortly after her first vision she had a second in which she was shown the trials through which she must pass, but was told that it was her duty to go and relate to others what was shown her. This command dismayed her, as it had dismayed Hazen Foss before her. She saw the ignorance and vice and fanaticism, the disbelief, the scorn, the misrepresentation and calumny which she must meet; and her soul was overwhelmed.

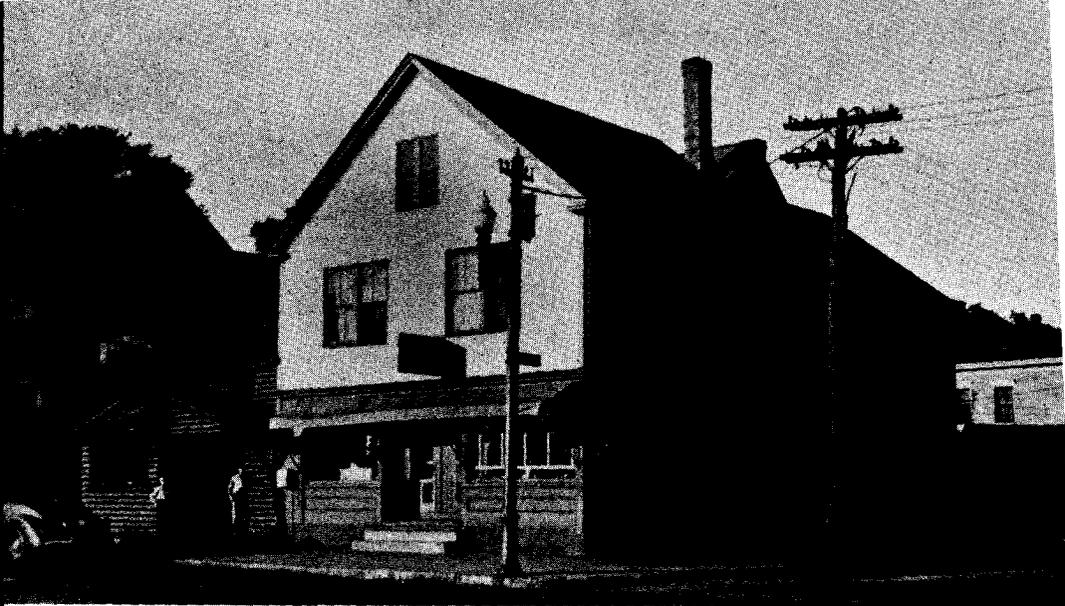


PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

The Haines's house in South Portland, Maine, where in an upper room Ellen Harmon experienced her first vision.

She was but a seventeen-year-old girl, small and frail, in poor health, racked with pulmonary disease; she seemed ready to slip into the grave. Timid and retiring, unused to society, conscious of her defects in learning and address, how could she go out in the name of the Lord to challenge the church and the world? What human arm would uphold and protect her? Her father, though sympathetic and encouraging, could not leave his business; her brother Robert was ill with tuberculosis. Her heart shrank in terror at the prospect. Again she coveted death.

Weeks passed, while her soul cowered before the prospect. Despair pressed upon her. She absented herself from meetings, even in her father's house. To the Portland Adventists, who had pledged her their confidence and support, this attitude seemed sinful. Perhaps they said to one another, or each to himself, "If God had so signally honored me with His messages and commands, I would take up the burden bravely and march forward." Yet in tender sympathy they made her case a subject



of prayer, and she was induced to be present at the meeting.

Deacon Pearson, who had once so much opposed her, now prayed earnestly for her, and like a tender father, counseled her to put her trust in God. While he and others prayed for her that she might be given strength and courage to bear the message, the thick darkness that had encompassed her rolled back, and a sudden light came upon her. Something like a ball of fire struck her over the heart, and she fell unconscious to the floor. Again she seemed to be in the presence of angels, and one spoke to her again the words of God: "Make known to others what I have revealed to you."

Father Pearson, who could not kneel on account of his rheumatism, witnessed this occurrence. When Ellen revived sufficiently to see and hear, he rose from his chair, exclaiming: "I have seen such a sight as I never thought to see. A ball of fire came down from heaven and struck Sister Ellen Harmon right on the heart. *I saw it! I saw it!* I can never forget it. Sister Ellen, have courage in the Lord. After this night I will never doubt again. We will help you henceforth, and not discourage you." And then, in the simplicity of her faith, like Mary at the annunciation, Ellen Harmon in her spirit replied, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord. Be it unto me according to Thy word."

In her directing vision she had pleaded her fear that if she should go out declaring herself favored with visions and revelations from God, she might become sinfully exalted, bring disrepute upon the cause, and lose her own soul. The answer was: "If this evil that you dread threatens you, the hand of God will be stretched out to save you; by affliction He will draw you to Himself, and preserve your humility. Deliver the message faithfully; endure unto the end, and you shall eat the fruit of the tree of life and drink of the water of life."

How well was the promise fulfilled! How faithfully did the messenger, beginning as a girl, "weakest of the weak," perform her allotted mission! How marvelously did this almost-unschooled child develop into a woman poised, penetrating, eloquent, persuasive, maternal, the mother of the church.

Seventy years of service lay before her ere she should put her distaff down, and lay aside the weaving of the fine linen of the saints. Despite her vision, she could not know all that lay before, but humbly she put her hand in the hand of her Lord, and took her first firm step forward.

Yet she was not unlearned. Her progress in knowledge and her development in power are referable not solely to her charismatic endowment. She applied herself to study, in itself a gift of the Holy Spirit. The field of her first and ever her most intent research was the Bible, and in the depths of its wisdom and knowledge she gained her clear and profound science of ethics and morals, and her prophetic perception. She read widely and thought deeply in history, especially church history and its related literature; and, more astutely than many a historian, she perceived its true philosophy, the hand of God in the affairs of men. She became a student of natural laws, first in God's masterpiece of creation—man, the laws of his being in body and mind, led thereto through grave misfortunes; and then in man's environment; and as the blessed fruit of her search for truth she was able to perceive in "everything upon the earth . . . the image and superscription of God."²² Whoever examines her written works—going from the childlike composition of her girlhood writings through the strenuous period of her young maturity to the gracious, eloquent, and deeply moving works of her later years—will perceive the steady progress in vision and expression, and may remember that she gained these abilities, under God's hand, not by supinely waiting for the outpouring of the Spirit, but by moving under the impulse of that Spirit in the exercise of every power of her being.

In her ministry she spoke with authority, but it was not the authority of arrogance or conceit. Self-confidence was not in her nature; like the Hebrew prophets of old, her assurance was based on the conviction that God spoke through her. And that note of authority was needed. It brought the infant church through crises of heresy, defection, and faulty judgment; it has

fired the courage and the ardor of the soldiers of Christ; it has spoken with convincing faith of the rewards of righteousness, humility, and devotion in this life and in the life to come.

She never claimed infallibility. The setting up of an infallible human authority is the recourse of unsure followers, who cannot think for themselves, and require an oracle. There is but one infallible; that is God; and they who claim infallibility for any man thereby claim for him divinity. *Inspiration* and *infallibility* are not synonymous terms. Inspiration is the influence of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of a willing servant; infallibility requires perfection, which no man has. As the submissive servant of God, Ellen Harmon White was inspired; and in that inspiration she, like the prophets of old, spoke illuminating truth. They who live the truth know the flavor of truth; and none but they who live it can know. They alone recognize the voice of God through His messengers, accept His Word, and with their own God-given powers fashion their part in the temple according to the plan.

She laid no claim to the prophetic office. She called herself the servant and messenger of God, and none with the sobering sense of the burden God imposes could speak with greater humility.²³ In this she proved herself in the line of God's unassuming spokesmen. John the Baptist denied that he was Elias; yet Jesus said of John, "This is Elias." "Not I, but Christ [who] liveth in me." No boastful tongue, no arrogance of mien, no pride of opinion, but ever the humble, earnest, spiritually solicitous, indefatigable worker for Christ—this was the record of Ellen G. Harmon White. Well did she deserve the eulogy pronounced upon her at her death by the editor of the *New York Independent*, a leading weekly of that time. After reciting the rise of the Seventh-day Adventists and listing their world-wide resources at that date, he wrote:

"In all this Ellen G. White has been the inspiration and the guide. Here is a noble record, and she deserves great honor. Did she really receive divine visions, and was she really chosen by the Holy Spirit to be endued with the charism of prophecy?

Or was she the victim of an excited imagination? Why should we answer? One's doctrine of the Bible may affect the conclusion. At any rate she was absolutely honest in her belief in her revelations. Her life was worthy of them. She showed no spiritual pride and she sought no filthy lucre. She lived the life and did the work of a worthy prophetess, the most admirable of the American succession."²⁴

Out of the acorn the oak, out of the furnace the gold, out of the comforted soul of a child the means of grace to men.

¹ J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 182, 183.

² See Appendix.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ Numbers 12:6. "Of all the subjects upon which the mind of man has speculated, there is perhaps none which has more perplexed than that of dreaming. Whatever may be the difficulties attending the subject, still we know that it has formed a channel through which Jehovah was pleased in former times to reveal His character and dispensations to His people."—*The Popular and Critical Bible Encyclopaedia and Scriptural Dictionary*, art. "Dream."

⁵ Joel 2:30, 31, 28.

⁶ Deuteronomy 13:1-5.

⁷ Jeremiah 23:25, 26.

⁸ Ephesians 4:11.

⁹ 1 Corinthians 14:26-29.

¹⁰ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 569, 570.

¹¹ Joel 1:15; 2:12, 13, 27-31; Matt. 24:29; Rev. 6:12-17.

¹² Revelation 12; 19:10.

¹³ Ellen G. White letter 37, 1890 (quoted in Arthur L. White, *Prophetic Guidance in Early Days*, p. 6). This was at McGuire's Hill, five miles from Poland, Maine. (J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 104.) One of Ellen Harmon's sisters, Mary, was married to Samuel Foss, of Poland. And a frequent companion of Miss Harmon's upon her early journeys was her sister-in-law, Louisa Foss. (Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 77.) We have no direct testimony, but from all the circumstances it would appear probable that Hazen Foss was of this family.

¹⁴ Ellen G. White, *Christian Experience and Teachings*, p. 39; *Life Sketches*, p. 47.

¹⁵ White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 20, 21. Perhaps this was Dr. George S. Faber, of Long-Newton, Durham, or Dr. John Cumming, of London, who proposed approximate dates.

¹⁶ 1 Corinthians 1:27.

¹⁷ Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, p. 213.

¹⁸ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 15.

¹⁹ White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 23, 24.

²⁰ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 28, 29.

²¹ White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 64-67; *Christian Experience and Teachings*, pp. 57-61; *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 58-61.

²² Ellen G. White, *Education*, p. 100.

²³ *Review and Herald*, Jan. 26, 1905, p. 9.

²⁴ *The Independent* (New York), Aug. 23, 1915.

AT GOD'S APPOINTED TIME*

TIME! Time! What is time? From veriest child to most learned savant the term is known and used, but with meanings as wide apart as the trickle of sand through the fingers and the movement of stars in infinity. Time is the point when something occurs; it is the period between two points; it is the appointed focus; it is the propitious moment; it is an epoch; it is the swing of a revolution or any fraction thereof; it is leisure; it is fate; it is the rhythmic click of castanets; it is a limited portion of eternity; it is an abstract perception of mind. Who comprehends time?

Time is the measure of God's appointments. From the beat of a human heart to the rendezvous of stars, there is a law that governs life; and that law we call time. What is time but the beat of life pulsing through the universe? Life is from God, who gives it and sustains it. Every heartbeat is an appointment with God, every seed sowing and every harvest, every conception and every birth. Every sunrise and sunset marks an interval of God's time, every Sabbath, every new moon, every season, every year, every threescore-and-ten. The itineraries of the worlds and the celestial systems have their timetables marked by the divine hand; and eternity itself is clocked, we know not how, save in this hour that belongs to earth.

God makes His appointments, and He keeps them. As sure as the earth in its rotation makes the day, as sure as the moon in its movement around the earth makes the month, as sure as the earth's completion of its revolution about the sun makes

* No attempt is made in this chapter to deal minutely with the chronology involved, in either its science or its history. For the Millerite reckoning the reader is referred to works on these subjects, such as Sylvester Bliss, *Analysis of Sacred Chronology*; LeRoy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 4, pp. 786-800.

the year, and as sure as all the heavenly bodies in their travels and conjunctions mark off the times of God, so sure is the fulfillment of the prophecies of God.

Some of God's appointments have been comparatively short: "within three days"; "at this set time in the next year"; "seven times shall pass over thee"; "when seventy years are accomplished."¹ Some have been longer: "His days shall be an hundred and twenty years"; "they shall afflict them four hundred years."²

But the longest time prophecy, involving the most important events, was given to Daniel, "greatly beloved" of God.³ It is a prophecy of the 2300 years,⁴ a prophetic period embracing a shorter period—the seventy weeks—and thus including the date of the beginning of Christ's ministry at His First Advent, of His death on the cross, of the close of the Jewish nation's probation, and finally the event, unseen on earth yet vital to its fate, when our great High Priest Jesus should enter the most holy place of the sanctuary in heaven, to complete His mediatorial work before coming as king.

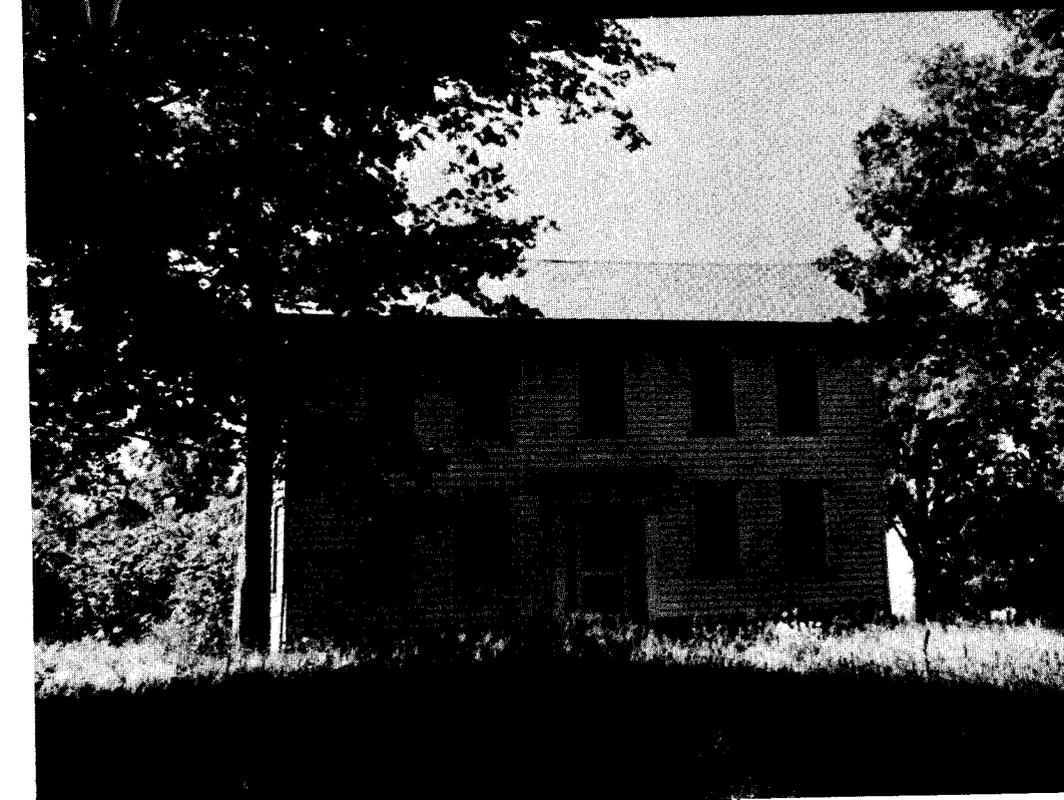
This is the keystone prophecy that engaged the attention and thought and exposition of the heralds of the Second Advent. Other prophecies in Daniel and Revelation marched along with it, and were enfolded within it, revealing variously the evolution of God's purpose in the rise and fall of kingdoms, the fortunes of the church, and the progress of the gospel work. But the center stone upon which they all leaned was the magnificent sweep of that long time period.

By reference to the scriptures cited in Daniel, it will be seen that the question was on "the cleansing of the sanctuary." What this meant was not clear to the men of 1844, because they had not studied and did not understand the sanctuary subject. It had not been clear to expositors before them for the same reason. But the end of that period was generally considered to be the end of this age, and to involve the coming of Christ, the beginning of the millennium, or of some other momentous event. This was the belief inherited by Miller and

his associates, which led them, without particularly investigating the nature of the sanctuary and its work, to announce the Second Advent at the end of the 2300 years.

The prophecy contains another event: the cross of Calvary. The drama of sin and salvation has these three high points—the fall, the cross, the judgment. The second and third of these are included in this prophecy, and the first is implicit in it. From the time of the fall, when Adam and Eve were cast out of the garden, the promise of God had held, that He would redeem men from sin and its consequences. “When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son.”⁵ Eagerly looked for from the beginning of the world, that definite “fulness of the time,” the time of the Redeemer, the Christ, was first revealed in this vision to Daniel. Christ’s appearance was to be 483 years after “the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem.” Another three and a half years were to elapse before He should “cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease” in the earthly sanctuary at Jerusalem, by His own sacrifice on the cross, antitype thus meeting type. Still another three and a half years followed, during which the Jewish nation was given probation to repent and accept the Christ.

This series of events is traced thus in the prophecy: In the eighth chapter of Daniel is recorded the vision which contains the number, “two thousand and three hundred days.” In the ninth chapter is found the account of a second vision, explanatory of the first. God’s angel messenger opened the interpretation with these words:⁶ “Seventy weeks are determined [cut off] upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression [the full cup of Jewish iniquity], to make an end of sins [by the atoning sacrifice of Christ on Calvary], and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness [through the life of Jesus Christ], and to seal up the vision and the prophecy [to certify the whole prophecy of 2300 years], and to anoint the most Holy”—to dedicate the sanctuary in heaven, as the earthly sanctuary finished its work



and was cast aside. These seventy weeks are, in the succeeding verses of the chapter, subdivided according to their purposes into seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week—a total of seventy.

According to the year-day principle, seventy weeks are 490 years. These years were cut off from the 2300 years at their beginning and given to the Jews. Why should the Jewish nation, the chosen of God, be limited in their connection with their Messiah to a fifth of the length of the prophecy? Alas, because they would have it so! Theirs was the privilege to welcome the Christ when He came, to take Him to their hearts, to fashion their lives, their ideas, their policies, and their work according to His pattern. But they would not; and the mournful doom was pronounced upon them by that same Christ, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."⁷

The year in which the seventy weeks and the 2300 years began, was the year of the "going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem," namely, 457 B.C. The Jews, under their king Jehoiakim, were first subjugated by the Babylonian monarch Nebuchadnezzar. The date given by older chronologists for Nebuchadnezzar's accession and Daniel's captivity is 606 B.C. New archeological evidence puts it at 605 B.C., but this in no way affects the interpretation of the prophetic periods, for ancient Jewish reckoning commonly counted both the first and the last years of a period.⁸ This harmonizes with God's prediction through Jeremiah, that the Jews should remain in captivity for seventy years.⁹

Daniel received his vision concerning the sanctuary (eighth chapter) in the third year of Belshazzar. Between the time of this vision and the explanation of it in the ninth chapter the army of Cyrus the Persian had captured the city. Belshazzar was slain, and the Babylonian kingdom passed to Darius the Mede. In 538 B.C., the first year of Darius, Daniel, sensing that the seventy years' captivity was nearing its close, set himself by prayer and fasting to plead for God's deliverance. Then (ninth chapter) he received the comfort of God, the vision

concerning the seventy weeks and the time of their beginning, which was when "the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem" should go forth.

Soon afterward, near the close of the seventy years in captivity, Cyrus was moved by God to decree the return of the Jews to their land and city. Cyrus' year one was 538/37 B.C. Therefore 536 would be a reasonable date for the migration to Judah. This decree of Cyrus, however, though fulfilling the prediction of the limitation of the Jews' captivity, did not fully re-establish the Temple or the city of Jerusalem. In all, three such decrees were successively made by Persian kings.* The second decree was by Darius Hystaspes, about 510-519 B.C. The third and last was the decree of Artaxerxes Longimanus, under which Ezra the scribe was sent by favor of the king to Jerusalem. It went into effect in 457 B.C. It is therefore the year 457 B.C. in which the seventy weeks and the 2300 days are to begin.

The seventy weeks are divided: seven weeks, or forty-nine years, a period in which the Jewish economy became well established, 457 to 408-7 B.C.; sixty-two weeks, 434 years, takes us to the autumn of A.D. 27, "unto the Messiah the Prince";¹¹ and one week, seven years, to close.

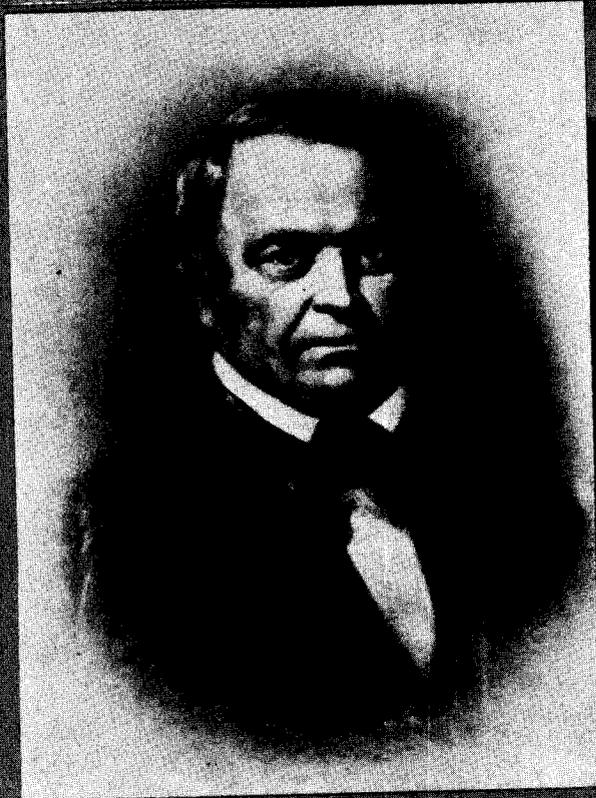
In the year A.D. 27 appeared John the Baptist, preaching and baptizing in the wilderness. "Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan, to be baptized of him." "And, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him; and lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."¹² The hour had struck, the high hour of God's appointment, the fullness of the time. Christ was come! And this year, A.D. 27, the end of Daniel's sixty-nine weeks, or 483 years, marked an important signpost in the prophecy of the 2300 years.

There remained a week, or seven years, given to the Jews. "In the midst of the week," that is, in three and a half years, the Messiah was to abolish the typical sacrifices in the

earthly Temple in Jerusalem. The abolition came with the cross. On the stroke of the moment when Christ died for men, "the veil of the temple was rent in twain."¹³ It was God's sign that this temple service on earth, the "shadow of heavenly things," was ended, the Aaronic priesthood abolished; now "the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man," was to receive the Melchizadekian High Priest. The Lamb of God, the sacrifice, became at once the divine mediator, "an high priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens."¹⁴

Christ's death occurred in the spring of A.D. 31, which was exactly in the midst of the seventieth week of years from the autumn of 457 B.C. The end of the seventy weeks, 490 years, then came in A.D. 34. Although in the rejection of Christ in Pilate's court Israel sealed its doom, thousands upon thousands of the Jews believed, under the influence of the Holy Spirit; and who could tell but that the apostles might yet turn the tide against the Sanhedrin? But the rulers prevailed; they carried the nation with them. They climaxed their opposition in 34 by the stoning of Stephen; and soon after we hear Paul and Barnabas declaring to the Jews, "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles."¹⁵

Miller himself did not thus reckon the 70th week; he merely took the Ussher-Lloyd dates in his Bible margin. Subtracting 33 (the marginal date for the crucifixion) from 490, he arrived at 457 B.C. (in the margin of Ezra 7), then added the remaining 1810 years of the 2300 to reach 1843. In 1844 he accepted others' revised dating, thus: 490 full years from 457 end in A.D. 34, with the cross in 31, in the midst of the 70th week.¹⁶ The cross fulfills one of its purposes, "to seal up the vision and prophecy." God never fails in the fulfillment of His predictions. He declared the time when the Messiah should appear, and He appeared. He stated the time when He should be cut off, and at the declared time He was cut off. He pro-



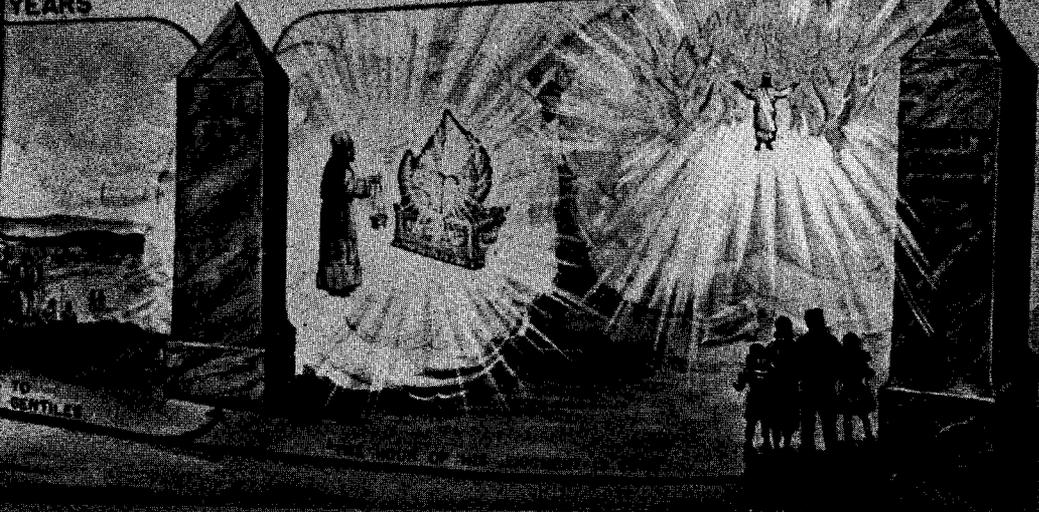
William Miller



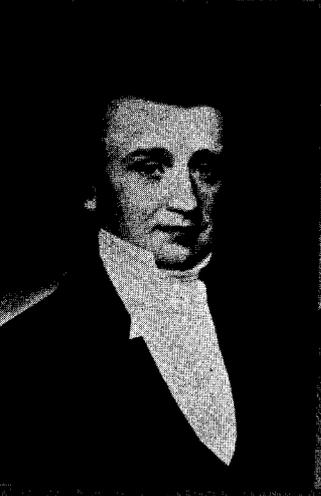
Joshua V.imes

THE SANCTUARY
CLEANSED
70 YEARS

"I WILL COME AGAIN"



THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE
1844 ADVENT MOVEMENT



John Litch

Joseph

jected His prophecy forward to the day when Christ should begin the cleansing of the sanctuary, and on that day He met His appointment.

This was the basis of the time prophecy proclaimed in the years just preceding 1844. Add 2300 years to 457 B.C., said Miller, and you have A.D. 1843, the "Jewish year" beginning in the spring of 1843 and extending to the spring of 1844, thus the end of the period would reach into 1844. "Then," said the prophecy, "shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

In the general ignorance of the great truth of the heavenly sanctuary service, there were extant different theories of what the sanctuary was. Some held it to be Jerusalem, some Palestine, some the whole earth. The first two concepts were involved in the popular belief in the return and conversion of the Jews and their millennial reign on earth. The Millerites, rejecting this literal return of the Jews, taught that the sanctuary was the earth, and that its cleansing would be by fire at the coming of the Lord, according to 2 Peter 3:10-13. Thus the error in their message was not an error of computation of time, not an error of the date, but an error in the nature of the institution and of the event.

In the beginning of his public work William Miller set no definite day for the Lord's return. His reckoning was simple: 457 B.C. + 2300 = A.D. 1843-44. Taking the rabbinical Jewish calendar, which begins the first month near the spring equinox, he said, "I am fully convinced that sometime between March 21st, 1843 and March 21st, 1844, according to the Jewish mode of computation of time, Christ will come."¹⁷ As the Advent believers came nearer the event, however, they were led to examine the sanctuary question and the meaning of the types and symbols in the ceremonial laws of Israel;¹⁸ and there arose among the younger men—Charles Fitch, Apollos Hale, Sylvester Bliss, Samuel S. Snow, and others—a conviction that deeper study of the sanctuary would reveal more light on the time of the Lord's coming. Snow, in February, published in *The Midnight Cry* the teaching that Christ would come in the

fall rather than in the spring of 1844. He based his teaching on the significance of the Jewish Day of Atonement, the tenth day of the seventh month, as the type of the judgment day; the seventh Jewish month, dating from the first month in April, coming in October. Moreover, it began to be realized that the decree of Artaxerxes took effect, not at the beginning of 457, but in the fall (the 457th year, but in actual time 456½ B.C.), and therefore, would go over to the fall of 1844.

Although no definite day had been set by Miller as the day of the Lord's appearing, he had calculated the 2300-year period to end sometime in the Jewish year closing, he thought, on March 21, 1844. According to the revised reckoning of the younger leaders, however, the end of the Jewish year, based on the Karaite Jewish calendar—which is the more ancient calendation—would occur on April 18, 1844.¹⁹ The passing of these dates, therefore, caused great depression, "the first disappointment." Yet Miller and his associates and a great proportion of the Advent believers still held to their faith that the end was near.

By now the growing opposition to the Advent proclamation was so strong and bitter that, following this early disappointment, the Protestant churches in general began to cast out their members who believed in the coming. Using their disappointment as a fulcrum, the pastors offered them the alternative of renouncing their faith or of being levered overboard. Many submitted; but thousands, though tried and bewildered, clung to their hope, and were set adrift by their churches. In this circumstance the Adventist leaders reluctantly came to the conclusion that there was no fellowship for their people in the churches that were opposed to their faith; and Fitch, Storrs, Himes, Brown, Bates, Marsh, Snow, and others gave the cry, "Come out of her, my people." Most of the Advent believers thus became separated from their former churches, without, however, forming any church organization of their own, being held together simply by their common faith in the speedy coming of Christ.

FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL 1843 CHART

BABYLON



677	2520	7
877	12	
1843	84	
538	2800	30
457	457	2520
332	1843	

VISIONS OF DANIEL & JOHN

PUBLISHED BY J.V.H. ...
 Death of Antiochus Epiphanes ...
 This is the image ...

164	158
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THE TEN KINGDOMS



These are the ...

1335	490
1290	508
45	538
	606
	1299
	1449



PAPAL ROME

1814 ...



1798	508
45	1335
1843	1843

1843 GOD'S EVERLASTING KINGDOM

Do not ...

Under these conditions the renewed teaching of Snow, pressed now with great fervor during the summer of 1844, began to take deep hold upon the faithful. Stated briefly, this teaching was that the antitypical day of atonement, or judgment day, was to come upon the typical Day of Atonement, the tenth day of the seventh month;²⁰ and by most careful reckoning, checked and rechecked on the Karaite calendar, it was determined that the tenth day of the seventh month would fall that year on October 22. There was the further consideration that, since the decree of Artaxerxes took effect, not at the beginning but somewhere in the middle of the year, the full 2300 years would go over to the middle of the Jewish year in 1844, that is, in the fall of the calendar year.

With this was connected the teaching that Jesus' parable of the ten virgins²¹ not only was applicable to this time and movement but was intended by the Lord to portray it. "While the bridegroom tarried," while Christ delayed to come, after the first disappointment, "they all slumbered and slept," the somnolence of the believers after that disappointment; "at midnight there was a cry made," this is the cry! "Behold the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet Him!" Hence this movement in the summer and early fall of 1844, which swelled the Advent message to more tremendous and intense proportions than ever before, became known to Adventists as the seventh-month movement, and the midnight cry.

This seventh-month movement, moreover, was responsible for a fundamental change in Adventist interpretation of the sanctuary. Up to this time they had held that the sanctuary was the earth, and its cleansing was to be by the fire of the judgment day. Now, their attention being turned to a study of the sanctuary by the emphasis laid upon the Day of Atonement, the culminating event in the annual service of the priest, they, studying further, came to see and to proclaim that the sanctuary was not this earth, but that it was the place of the mediatorial service in heaven. So in the Adventist papers in the summer and autumn of 1844 there appeared this teaching

from such leaders as Snow, Storrs, Fitch, Bliss, Litch, Hutchinson, Hale, Himes, and Miller himself.²² This teaching, however, came late; and while it was accepted by many, it is apparent from the writings of others that it was not universally understood.

But this change in doctrine, though correct so far as it went, had no effect upon the main teaching of the Adventists; they still expected the coming of Christ on the appointed day, October 22. For the teachers reasoned that Christ, the High Priest, on that day would come forth from, not enter into, the most holy place; and His coming forth meant His coming in glory as King. This was the point at which, later, there came a cleavage. Many Adventists in 1844 came to believe that the sanctuary was in heaven; but only a segment after the disappointment learned and taught that Christ on the appointed day entered upon the final phase of His priestly work, which would take an indeterminate time before He should come in glory. The subject of the sanctuary and its work was penetrated but slightly in the summer of 1844; its deeper study and development waited for the postdisappointment period and the birth of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination.

The seventh-month movement rose to its first height in the Exeter, New Hampshire, camp meeting, August 12-17. Men and families had come from all New England from Maine to Massachusetts, and from New York and Canada. There was an anticipation that great things were to be revealed at Exeter, and all the people were in expectation. Joseph Bates, coming up on the train from New Bedford, Massachusetts, felt his mind impressed with the message, "You are going to have new light here, something that will give a new impetus to the work."²³ But he little anticipated in what dramatic fashion the light was to come to him.

As one of the prominent ministers in the movement, he was given the pulpit on the third day of the meeting. Clinging devotedly to that which he was in after years to celebrate as "the blessed hope," he yet was confused and made uncertain by

the spring disappointment. Nevertheless, he tried to do his duty by his people, in presenting the evidences of the Lord's near coming and the expectation that they might soon see Him in the clouds of heaven. From his sea-captain background he represented the church as a ship seeking harbor, possibly a little off in the captain's reckoning, or lost in a fog, but nevertheless near port.²⁴ However, the argument and the exhortation dragged; he felt no life in his message.

Half consciously he noted a rider dismount from a panting horse outside the circle, come in and sit down by a man and his wife in the audience, and greet them with a few whispered words. The new arrival was Samuel S. Snow, his friends Elder and Mrs. John Couch. Suddenly Mrs. Couch arose and, interrupting the speaker, declared: "It is too late, Brother Bates. It is too late to spend our time about these truths, with which we are familiar. . . . It is too late, brethren, to spend precious time as we have since this camp-meeting commenced. Time is short. The Lord has servants here who have meat in due season for His household. Let them speak, and let the people hear them. 'Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet Him.' " ²⁵

Bates did not bridle; the meekness of the saints was upon him. Besides, he was ready for relief. "Come up, Brother Snow, and tell us," he invited. Snow thereupon held a short question-and-answer service, and it was arranged that the next morning he should present the subject more fully. This he did in a powerful sermon on "the midnight cry," which he followed up with addresses each day that remained. He was supported by other sympathetic speakers—Elders Eastman, Couch, and Heath. In solemn power the message spread through the camp. Snow was a man of enthusiasm. He had a keenly analytic mind, and he had for a year studied intensively the symbolism and the chronology of the subject. He was by this time thoroughly prepared to speak logically and convincingly upon it. Bates, who also was versed in the essentials of the subject, was ready to embrace the doctrine, and he went forth

with fire to proclaim it. James White was likewise a listener; and from this Exeter camp meeting he went home to enter the lists with a greater enthusiasm and power, which earned for him the charge that he was "too positive on time arguments."

During the summer Miller and Himes, and Litch (part time), had been on tour with the "big tent" through New York and Ohio. They heard the fame of the "midnight cry"; but Miller, cautious as ever, deprecated it, and Himes was influenced to follow him. Charles Fitch, however, then ministering in Cleveland and adjacent Ohio and New York, felt his generous soul set afire by the message, for which in a degree he had paved the way; and he came out in its support. When Miller and Himes returned to the East at the end of summer, they found the Adventist front aflame with the torches of the "midnight cry." Himes, at the Pawtucket, Rhode Island, camp meeting, in late August or early September, accepted the new message,²⁶ and finally, on October 6, Miller likewise endorsed it, saying, "If Christ does not come within twenty or twenty-five days, I shall feel twice the disappointment I did in the spring."²⁷ Thus the Adventist ranks closed up, waiting for the first time upon a definite day of the Lord's coming, October 22, 1844.

On October 11, in a letter to Himes, Miller wrote: "I think I have never seen among our brethren such *faith* as is manifested in the seventh month. 'He will come,' is the common expression. 'He will not tarry the second time,' is their general reply. There is a forsaking of the world, an unconcern for the wants of life, a general searching of heart, confession of sin, and a deep feeling in prayer for Christ to come. A preparation of heart to meet Him seems to be the labor of their agonizing spirits. There is something in this present waking up different from anything I have ever before seen. There is no great expression of joy: that is, as it were, suppressed for a future occasion, when all heaven and earth will rejoice together with joy unspeakable and full of glory. There is no shouting; that, too, is reserved for the shout from heaven. . . . No arguments

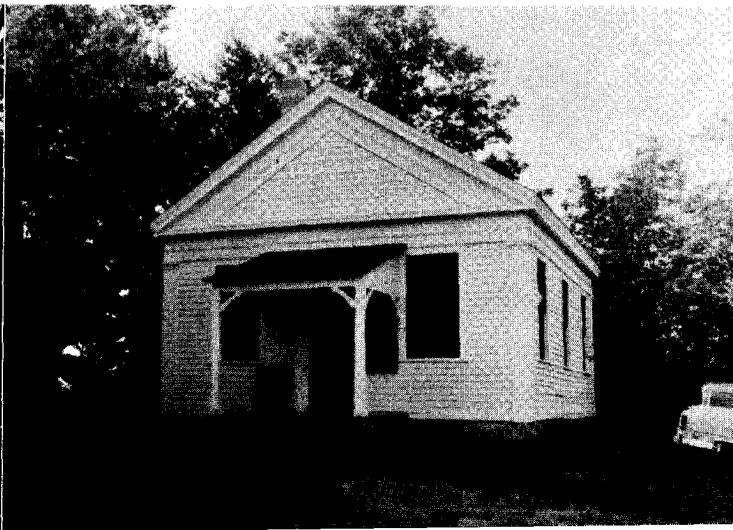
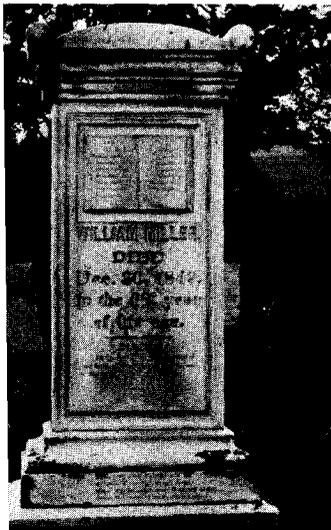
The little church built by Miller on his farm after the Disappointment. The gravestone marks his resting place a short distance from his home at Low Hampton, New York.

are used or needed: all seem convinced that they have the truth. There is no clashing of sentiments: all are of one heart and of one mind. Our meetings are all occupied with prayer, and exhortation to love and obedience. The general expression is, 'Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet Him.' Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus!"²⁸

In this spirit, with this calm and assured expectation, the believers in the Second Advent awaited the judgment day. But they were again disappointed. October 22 passed by, and the Lord came not. "Twice as disappointed"? Ah, infinitely more. This was the certain, the assured day! Christ could not fail! The Scriptures must be fulfilled! Yet it seemed a failure. Crushed to the earth were the hopes of the sincere believers. And how their enemies scoffed! No other collapse of Christian hope was comparable to this, except that blasted hope of the first disciples at the crucifixion: "But we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel."²⁹

Did Christ fail? He did not fail. Did the prophecy come to nought? It did not come to nought. Was the reckoning wrong? It was right. On the tenth day of the seventh month, in the 2300th year, the great High Priest Jesus began His work of cleansing the sanctuary.

October 22, 1844, has passed into Adventist history as the day of disappointment. Far better, most truly, it was the day



of His appointment. As surely as the stars in their courses fulfill the law of their Maker, so surely did the Lord of the universe fulfill His prophecy through His prophet Daniel. On the appointed day He entered the most holy of the heavenly sanctuary, to conclude His work on the antitypical day of atonement. And when His work there is finished He will come forth as King.

¹ Genesis 40:13; 17:21; Daniel 4:25; Jeremiah 25:12.

² Genesis 6:3; 15:13.

³ Daniel 8:13, 14; 9:24-27.

⁴ "Unto two thousand and three hundred days," says the prophecy. (Daniel 8:14.) These are symbolic days: by Scriptural implication (Numbers 14:34; Ezekiel 4:6) and by time-honored agreement of many commentators, both Jewish and Christian, they signify years. See Uriah Smith, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation* (1944 ed.), pp. 144, 204.

⁵ Galatians 4:4.

⁶ Daniel 9:24.

⁷ Matthew 23:38.

⁸ See footnote in Smith, *op cit.*, p. 19. LeRoy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 1, pp. 915-918. From 605 to 536 B.C. is 70 years, inclusive.

⁹ Jeremiah 25:12; 29:10.

¹⁰ Ezra 6:14.

¹¹ Since the decree of Artaxerxes went into effect, not at the beginning of the year 457, but sometime later in the year, leaving but 456½ years B.C., this fraction of a year would carry over into the next. Thus, 456½ B.C. subtracted from 483, would bring us not merely to the end of A.D. 26, but to the autumn of 27.

¹² Matthew 3:13, 16, 17.

¹³ Matthew 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45.

¹⁴ Hebrews 8:1.

¹⁵ Acts 13:46.

¹⁶ Froom, *op cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 789-791, 795-798.

¹⁷ *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 25, 1843, p. 147.

¹⁸ Delineated in the law of Moses in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, and explained and illuminated in the Christian Era in the book of Hebrews.

¹⁹ See Appendix.

²⁰ Leviticus 23:26-32.

²¹ Matthew 25:1-13.

²² *The True Midnight Cry*, Aug. 22; *The Midnight Cry*, Sept. 12, Oct. 3, 12, 13, 19; *Advent Herald*, Oct. 2, 9, 16; *Bible Examiner*, Sept. 24; *Voice of Truth*, Oct. 12. Fitch had his own paper in Cleveland, *The Second Advent of Christ*, in which reputedly he proclaimed "the midnight cry"; no copy is extant.

²³ Joseph Bates, *Life of Bates*, p. 301.

²⁴ See "A Dialogue," *Review and Herald*, Jan. 24, 1854.

²⁵ James White, *Life Incidents*, pp. 159, 160; J. O. Corliss in *Review and Herald*, Aug. 16, 1923, p. 7. From the varying accounts of Bates, White, and Corliss, the first two writing long after the event, and the last reporting from recollection of conversations with them, the above narrative has been constructed according to the greatest probabilities.

²⁶ Bates, *op cit.*, p. 302.

²⁷ James White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller*, p. 296.

²⁸ Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller*, pp. 270, 271.

²⁹ Luke 24:21.

THE DISAPPOINTMENT EXPLAINED*

PORT GIBSON, New York, is a little town on the Erie Canal, about midway between Syracuse and Buffalo, and some thirty miles east of Rochester. In the early history of the canal it was the main shipping point for a large territory that reached down to the Finger Lakes and up to Lake Ontario; but when the railroad came through, it declined. Nevertheless, in the 1840's it still had extensive docking facilities for the freight boats, passenger packets, and combination freight and passenger line boats that plied the then narrow and shallow canal.

It was the post office for the little company of Advent believers, mostly farmers, who looked to Hiram Edson as their leader. He owned a good farm a mile south of town, and his house was commonly their meeting place. A close friend and associate of Edson's was a physician, Dr. Franklin B. Hahn, who lived in Canandaigua, on the lake of the same name, about fifteen miles southwest of Port Gibson. Between them they provided a home for a young man who had engaged their sympathies as an orphan boy a few years before; his name, Owen R. L. Crosier. Now he was in his early twenties, and showing marked powers of mind as a student and budding writer.

During 1844 Edson and Hahn had published at Canandaigua, rather irregularly, a small sheet they named *The Day Dawn*. It was one of scores of Adventist papers which sporadically appeared in many cities as the mouthpieces of the Advent believers. Edson and Hahn prepared it themselves, and they invited Crosier to write for it. With what he produced they were well pleased, having regard more to the cogency of

* See Appendix.



his reasoning than to the charm of his style. But the fashions of the day in literature and in homily ran to the discursive and lengthy.

This company of believers on the twenty-second day of October met at Hiram Edson's to wait for Christ to appear in glory. With hymns of thanksgiving and fervent expectation, with exhortation and review of evidences, they passed each hour in momentary hope that the Lord would come. Would it be in the morning? The frost of the dawn melted under the rising sun. Might it be at noon? The meridian was reached, and the sun began to decline. Surely the evening! But the shades of night fell lowering. Still there was hope: "For ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning."¹

But midnight passed. There was prayer, there was apprehension, there were glistening eyes. The cock crowed; but, announcer of the coming day, he made no heraldry of the Advent. At last the morning broke; no more could they pretend the twenty-second day. That day was past. Christ had not come. In Hiram Edson's farmhouse there was weeping, as in thousands of other meeting places on that day. They questioned one another: Had the Scriptures failed? Was there no reward of saints? Was there to be no judgment day? Was the Bible false? Could it be there was no God?

"Not so, brethren," spoke Hiram Edson. "There is a God in heaven. He has made Himself known to us in blessing, in forgiving, in redeeming; and He will not fail us now. Sometime soon this mystery will be solved. We shall know what God's purpose is, and this dark secret shall be made as plain as day."

As the dawn came most of the believers slipped away to their now desolate homes. To those who remained, Hiram Edson said, "Let us go out to the barn and pray." They went out and entered the almost empty granary; for the corn had not been husked, and yet stood in shocks in the fields. They entered and shut the door behind them. There in the crisp



air of that late October morning they poured out their souls in anguished supplication that God would not desert them and their fellows in this hour of trial, nor hide from them His face and His design. They prayed until they felt the witness of the Spirit that their disappointment would be explained.

After breakfast Edson said to one who remained (some say it was Crosier),³ "Let us go out to comfort the brethren with this assurance." Perhaps because it was a short cut to their first destination, perhaps because they shunned the road, where they might meet mocking enemies, they struck back through the farm, crossing a field where Edson's corn still stood in the shocks. About midway across the field Hiram Edson stopped as if a hand had been placed on his shoulder. As he lifted his face to the skies, there flashed upon his understanding the meaning of the sanctuary in heaven. Recalling the arrangement of the Mosaic sanctuary, he saw it as a type of the sanctuary in heaven, and realized that as Christ was the minister of the heavenly sanctuary, His ministration would change in due course of time from the holy place to the most holy. He wrote of this occasion: "I saw distinctly and clearly that instead of our High Priest coming out of the most holy of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth on the tenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the 2300 days, He for the first time entered on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary; and that He had a work to perform in the most holy before coming to this earth."³

His companion, not noticing his pause, had reached the other side of the field. At the fence he turned, and seeing Edson far behind, he called, "Brother Edson, what are you stopping for?" And Edson replied, "The Lord was answering our morning prayer." Then, rejoining his friend, he told him of his conviction. They went on their way, discussing the subject, recalling what little study they had made of the sanctuary, and shaping up the Bible evidence of the revelation.

Without doubt Edson and his company had received the new view of the sanctuary, as being in heaven, which came with

the seventh-month movement. They were subscribers to some, at least, of the principal Advent publications, including probably Snow's *True Midnight Cry*, which he issued when he thought the established periodicals were too slow in taking up his message. They were not far from Buffalo, which in the summer of 1844 was the eastern perimeter of the personal ministrations of Charles Fitch, who was also publishing in Cleveland a paper, *The Second Advent of Christ*. It was at Buffalo, but little more than a week before the disappointment, that Charles Fitch had laid down his life,⁴ the victim of his exhausting, selfless sacrifice in the cause of Christ. Edson and his friends were doubtless in great debt to Fitch, Snow, and others who had begun to study the sanctuary question and who had led in the great step forward of correctly identifying the sanctuary. With the background of this advanced position, the gap between the early Adventists' understanding of the sanctuary and that revealed in Edson's vision, which became the Seventh-day Adventist position, was lessened.

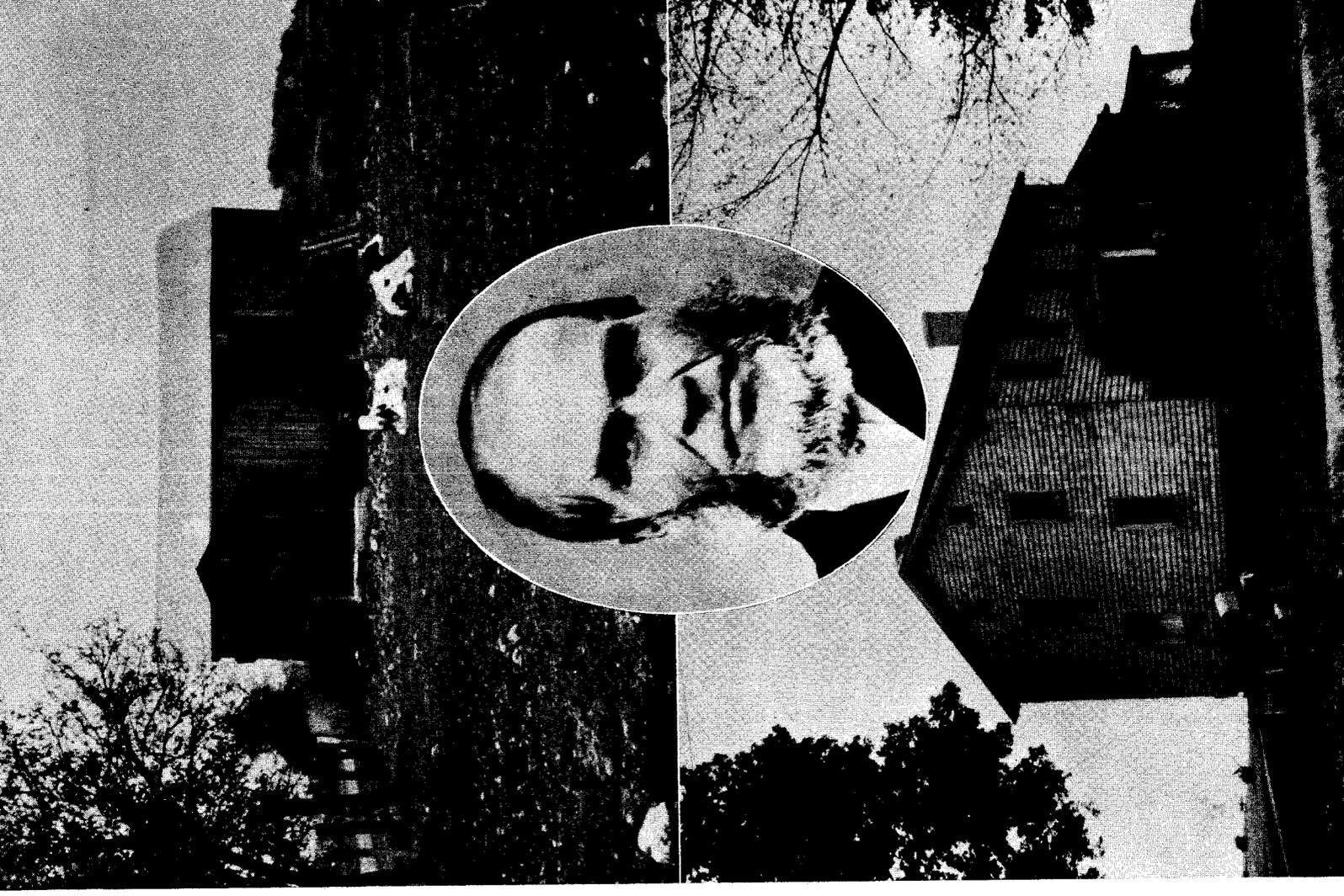
It was, nevertheless, a revolutionary idea, the germ of a doctrine so radical as to bear a chief part in differentiating between the old and the new Adventist bodies. It is indeed comparable in its revolutionary character to the change in concept of the nature of the Messiah's mission, which came to Christ's disciples after their disappointment at the crucifixion. Consider the astounding impact of the new idea upon those disciples, and the alienation which came between those who accepted it and those who clung to the old concept of the Christ as King of Israel. The patriots of Jewry had fixed their ideology upon the regal nature of the Messiah and His mission. How great a wrench it was to subjugate that boastful hope to the concept of a Messiah who was immediately merely a savior from sin, is evident in the experience of Saul of Tarsus. Doubtless tens of thousands of Jews who initially had hailed Jesus of Nazareth as their Messiah the King, turned scornfully from the doctrine that He fulfilled the prophecies by dying on the cross. Thereafter they hailed successive pretenders to

the Messiahship, with cumulative disappointments and final ruin. On the other hand, they who received the new doctrine were at first few and without influence. With painful sincerity and conviction they broke with their national leaders, and gradually drew further apart; yet in the end they became the great Christian church, far outgrowing the Jewish church both in theology and in power.

In 1844-46 the old body of Adventists, holding still to the King-of-glory-Advent idea, became split into factions, most of whom, without sound reasoning, suspected the accuracy of the date set,⁵ and some of whom went on, by devious reasoning, to set successive dates, in all of which they were again disappointed. The new party, accepting the High-Priest-in-the-sanctuary concept, and maintaining the reliability of the reckoning which came out at October 22, 1844, held that the last time prophecy had been therein fulfilled, and time should be no longer a tenet or a test. This party, accepting also the fourth-commandment Sabbath, finally took the name of Seventh-day Adventists, a church which now fills almost the entire Adventist field.

There is a similarity also in the means of revelation in both cases. Jesus revealed His resurrection to different ones in various ways. He also began to reveal the light of the sanctuary by various means to different groups of His 1844 disciples. But the two who caught the message on the morning of October 23 against the background of pertinent Scriptures, were like the two who in the evening of the resurrection day felt their hearts burn within them at the arraying of the Scriptures which preceded the vision of their Lord.

Walking on the road to Emmaus, lost in mournful meditation on the dire events that had convulsed Jerusalem and, worst of all, blasted the hopes of the followers of Christ, those two were shaken to the depths of their souls. Though the prophecies had foretold His coming, though they had promised He would be king of Israel, though but a week before He had ridden into Jerusalem in the manner foretold of the Son of



David, still Jesus had not been crowned king. He had been crucified, nailed to a cross between two thieves, buried in a tomb. The two disciples, bowing their heads, walked forlornly, talking spasmodically of those things which had happened.

But as they walked, Another drew near whom they knew not. Questioning them, He drew out their astonished, almost resentful answer, informing Him of what all but the veriest stranger must know. Then that Stranger talked with them as they walked along, recalling to their minds the Scriptures concerning the Christ, which they had read but little comprehended. "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory?" Gradually the light of the Word, from "Moses and all the prophets," opened to their understanding. And as the Stranger sat at meat with them when they had reached their lodging in Emmaus, suddenly the heavenly vision burst upon their eyes: He was the Christ, the same Jesus whom they had hoped to see crowned king. Not yet their king, but for their more vital need their Priest, their Intercessor.

So did Christ walk that morning of October 23 with these two disciples on their Port Gibson way. So did He call to their minds the Scriptures that revealed His work, His appointment, and His fulfillment of His Word. And they said: "The sanctuary to be cleansed is in heaven. The great High Priest has entered, not left, the most holy. The beginning of the day of atonement has come. Our Lord has fulfilled His promise. It will be but a 'little while' until He shall finish the cleansing and come forth as King."

They hastened on and told the brethren; and if there were any doubting Thomases among them, it is not recorded.⁹ But with the understanding that Jesus was High Priest in the most holy place of the sanctuary in heaven, it was determined among them that a deeper and more comprehensive study must be made of the earthly, typical sanctuary service, as recorded in the Scriptures, that they might, through it, understand the sanctuary in heaven and the service now beginning in the second apartment.

The home of Hiram Edson (inset) at Port Gibson, New York, and the barn from which he set out across the cornfield where was unfolded to him the meaning of the sanctuary service in heaven.

Crosier's eager young spirit leaped to the glory of the mission. He devoted himself night and day to the research. He was heartily encouraged and helped by Hiram Edson and Dr. Hahn. The three of them set themselves to study, and for the next several months they were buried in that fascinating and fruitful task. With Bibles and concordance and little else, they pioneered their way into the mazes of the sanctuary question, as their fathers had threaded the forests where now stood their smiling homesteads. What did they find? Where did they come out? What was the result of their pioneering?

Men cannot comprehend God, and all symbols of His being and of His service must be interpreted in the consciousness that they are inadequate to express them. Yet the sanctuary service given to Israel through Moses was manifestly intended to convey lessons vital to man's salvation, and its meanings were and are to be sought. Let us reverently as did these three men, enter upon the search for truth in the sanctuary question.

Their starting point was the first mention of the sanctuary: "And let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them." "And look that thou make them after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount."⁷ This was that "shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount."⁸

The tabernacle made in the wilderness, as likewise the Temple later built in Jerusalem, contained, besides its courts, two apartments. The first, or holy place, contained the golden, seven-branched lamp, the table of shewbread, and the altar of incense, symbols of the Spirit ever ministering, the sustaining Word of God, and the prayers of the faithful. The second, or most holy, but half as large as the first, contained the ark of the covenant, enclosing the law written on tables of stone, and its cover the mercy seat, representing the throne of God. Every day "the priest went always into the first. . . . But into the second went the high priest alone once every year."⁹

In the court outside the sanctuary were offered daily the lambs and other sacrifices which represented Christ, the Lamb slain for the sins of men. In the sanctuary itself every day the priest entered the first apartment, replenished the oil in the lamps, which were to burn continually, and sprinkled incense upon the ever-burning flame of the golden altar. He carried there also some of the blood of the sacrifice, and sprinkled it seven times before the separating veil between the holy and the most holy apartments, and touched with the blood the four horns of the altar of incense; thus in symbol were the sins of the people taken into the sanctuary to the entrance of the most holy, polluting it as the sins of men pollute the purity of God.¹⁰

But upon the tenth day of the seventh month (which comes in our autumn) there came the Day of Atonement, whereon the priest should "make an atonement for the children of Israel for all their sins once a year."¹¹ This involved the cleansing of the sanctuary. The ceremony by which the high priest cleansed the sanctuary was briefly this: Donning the garments of his office on that consecrated Day of Atonement he washed himself, took a censer, and with its smoke veiling his face from the glory of the presence of God over the mercy seat, he parted the veil and entered the most holy. He sprinkled there upon the mercy seat the atoning blood of the sacrifice. Then he went out, bearing on himself in symbol the accumulated sins of all the people, taking them away from the most holy place. Outside, he placed his hands upon the head of a live goat, the "scapegoat," and transferred the sins to his head. The scapegoat was then sent away into the wilderness.¹² Thus was completed the work of cleansing the earthly sanctuary.

Now, in the book of Hebrews it is explained that this earthly sanctuary service was "a copy and type of things heavenly."¹³ The tabernacle and the temple of the Jews, the earthly sanctuary with its daily and yearly services, signified the atoning work of Christ, the real priest of mankind in the sanctuary in heaven.

Thus in the type the confessed sins were *forgiven* by the merit of the blood of the lamb, as they were day by day taken into the sanctuary; but they waited to be *blotted out* of existence until the annual Day of Atonement; when, being removed from the most holy place (the cleansing of the sanctuary), they were sent away on the head of the scapegoat into the uninhabited wilderness.

That earthly sanctuary, wherein the Presence of God deigned to dwell in the most holy, above the mercy seat, was a diagrammatic pattern of the heavenly sanctuary in form, in furniture, in personnel, in service. It was given to Israel, the people to whom were delivered the Sacred Oracles, that they might, through study of its symbols, perceive more and more the mysteries and the glories of the plan of salvation; and not only they, but God's people even down to the end of time. The earthly sanctuary did not supersede the heavenly sanctuary after which it was modeled, where only the actual mediatorial work could be performed; but it placed before the people of God an intricate pattern of the work of that Life and Love of God, His "only begotten Son," who is both sacrifice and priest.

We cannot, of course, suppose that the heavenly sanctuary is like the structure of the earthly sanctuary. It is infinitely more glorious, supernal, beyond the grasp of man's mind. "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me?"¹⁴ But the earthly sanctuary interprets to us the heavenly. The two apartments, the holy and the most holy, and all the furniture in the earthly sanctuary were symbolic of the work of the heavenly sanctuary. All the ritual of sacrifice and atonement was symbolic of the sacrifice of Christ and the reconciliation He made between God and man. The lamb and the goat and the bullock that were sacrificed—every one represented Christ, who is our sacrifice. All the work of the priest was symbolic of the mediatorial work of the true Priest, Jesus Christ. The ark in the most holy place of the earthly sanctuary represented the government of God, enshrining His Decalogue. The

mercy seat, which was the cover of the ark, represented the throne of God, who is "merciful and gracious, longsuffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty."¹⁶

There was the type, the shadow of the real; what we call the antitype is the reality. The sanctuary as a whole represents the relationship of God to man in the work of redemption. The service in the first apartment, the holy place, is the mediation of Christ for His people in all generations; the service on the Day of Atonement in the second apartment, the most holy place, is the concluding work of Christ's ministry in preparation for the final abolition of sin at the executive judgment; the sacrifice is the giving of the life of Christ Himself for the sins of men; the scapegoat is Satan, the instigator of sin, who bears his share of responsibility in all sins and is banished in the abyss of oblivion.

The high priest is Christ Himself. The sins of repentant transgressors, confessing and pleading the merit of the sacrifice, have been brought into the heavenly sanctuary throughout the generations of men. At the end of the age comes the great Day of Atonement, when these accumulated sins forgiven through faith in Christ are taken away, cleansing His sanctuary, and are placed upon the head of Satan the scapegoat, to be with him forever blotted out. And for the first time since the rebellion of Lucifer in heaven there will be a clean universe.

The time prophecies which God has from age to age given through His spokesmen the prophets culminate in that last event, when "the sanctuary shall be cleansed," 2300 years from 457 B.C., which is A.D. 1844. Then began that heavenly day of atonement, the length of which we do not know, but which will be comparably short; and at its end Christ will come forth as King of kings and Lord of lords.

We speak of all this in the language of men; for only so, by symbol and speech, could God convey any idea to men of

the great work of the atonement and the judgment. Human mind cannot grasp the realities of that heavenly scene of judgment: the books of God—not like our books or records, but inerrant and complete; the symbolic blood—not actual blood but the life which the blood signifies; the holy place and the most holy—not rooms as we conceive them but the ineffable abode of the great God and His ministering spirits; the day of atonement—not a literal day, but a period the length of which is known only to God. And so with all the other symbols and ceremonies. Every part, every symbol, every act, has a significance which is worthy the study of the Christian, yes, vital to the life of the Christian for all his earthly tenure, and for the salvation of his soul.

But in whatever degree the mind of man—this one and that one—may comprehend the subject of salvation, of sacrifice for sin, of atonement, of times and seasons, of the cleansing of the sanctuary—“Now of the things which we have spoken this is the sum: We have such an high priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens; a minister of the true sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.” “Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, his flesh; and having an high priest over the house of God; let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering.”¹⁶

Early in the year 1845 Edson, Hahn, and Crosier had carried their studies to a point where the subject of the sanctuary and its cleansing stood forth clearly. They considered how to diffuse this knowledge abroad. Said Edson to Hahn, “Let us get out another number of *The Day Dawn*, and publish this truth.” They decided to do this, and they did, Edson and Hahn sharing the expense between them.¹⁷ They sent it to the addresses of as many Adventists as they knew or heard of.

The paper reached, among others, Joseph Bates and James White. They had been moving toward the same light, but here was a clear road; they hailed it gladly. Another receptive soul, for the time being, was Enoch Jacobs, editor of an Advent paper in Cincinnati, *The Day-Star*. His favorable response opened the columns of that paper to the new light. Edson and Hahn encouraged Crosier to write a fuller exposition¹⁸ of the sanctuary truth for *The Day-Star*, which he did, under the unrevealing title of "The Law of Moses," and it was published in an Extra of the date of February 7, 1846. Thus it appears that the exposition of the cleansing of the sanctuary as it had been revealed to Edson was published in *The Day Dawn* about five months after his experience in the cornfield, and that in *The Day-Star* about fifteen and a half months after.¹⁹

Hiram Edson, corresponding with such as received the sanctuary truth gladly, sent out an invitation for a conference at Port Gibson. To this both James White and Joseph Bates responded favorably. It is not clear from Edson's account or from any contemporary record just when this meeting occurred. It was probably in the latter part of the year 1845. Edson states that Elder White was prevented from attending the conference, but that Elder Bates did come, and brought to him and the Port Gibson company his new-found truth of the seventh-day Sabbath.

Edson's mind had been exercised upon this subject even before the Disappointment, and now he hailed Bates's message with joy, and kept the next Sabbath. Dr. Hahn joined him in this. But Crosier said, "Better go slowly, brethren, better go slowly. Don't step upon any plank before you know it will hold you up."

"I have tried the plank already," replied Edson, "and I know it will hold."

For a time, however, Crosier did unite with the company in the keeping of the Sabbath, but he soon departed, became a vigorous opponent, and at last retired from all connection with any Adventist people.

Thus it would appear that the Port Gibson company was the primary Adventist group to step out on the first two planks of the platform being built into the Seventh-day Adventist faith—the sanctuary and the Sabbath.

¹ Mark 13:35.

² See Appendix.

³ Fragment of manuscript on his life and experiences, by Hiram Edson (quoted in F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, p. 458).

⁴ Born December, 1805; died October 11, 1844, aged thirty-eight. Elder Fitch died of a fever contracted by exposure in baptizing three successive parties in Lake Erie on a cold, windy day. In his wet garments he twice started with his party for home, only to be turned back by new candidates desiring baptism. Information was supplied by his daughter, Mary Elizabeth Fitch, Cleveland, Ohio, in 1908.

⁵ Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, p. 404.

⁶ In his old age Crosier is reported to have said that early on the morning of October 23 he was on horseback, riding to tell the brethren the news. (*Review and Herald*, March 29, 1945, p. 5.) In such case, he evidently turned back and took a horse from the barn. How Edson proceeded we do not know.

⁷ Exodus 25:8, 40.

⁸ Hebrews 8:5.

⁹ Hebrews 9:6, 7.

¹⁰ Leviticus 4:17, 18.

¹¹ Leviticus 16:29-34.

¹² Verses 2-22.

¹³ Hebrews 8:5, Weymouth.

¹⁴ Isaiah 66:1.

¹⁵ Exodus 34:6, 7.

¹⁶ Hebrews 8:1, 2; 10:18-23.

¹⁷ To assist in meeting the expense, Mrs. Edson sold a part of her silver.

¹⁸ "Fifty foolscap pages." *Canandaigua Messenger*, Nov. 22, 1923, p. 22.

¹⁹ See Appendix.



BANNERS OF TRUTH

COMMUNION service was being held in the Washington, New Hampshire, Christian church¹ one Sunday morning early in 1844. The presiding elder was Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist and Adventist minister of Hillsboro,² whose circuit included this church. Among the communicants he noticed a middle-aged lady sitting in the Daniel Farnsworth pew,³ who kept her bright eyes upon him during the service, and seemed almost to start to her feet when he declared, "All who confess communion with Christ in such a service as this should be ready to obey God and keep His commandments in all things." He wondered about that lady.

Visiting in the family later, the minister met Mrs. Rachel Oakes, mother of young Rachel Delight Oakes, the school-teacher. Direct in speech as in gaze, she said to him, "You remember, Elder Wheeler, that you said everyone who confesses Christ should obey all the commandments of God?"

"Yes."

"I came near getting up in the meeting right then, and saying something."

"I thought so. What did you have in mind to say?"

"I wanted to tell you that you had better set that communion table back and put the cloth over it, until you begin to keep the commandments of God," said Rachel Oakes.⁴

Elder Wheeler sat back astonished. He felt, a little weakly, that he was grateful this direct-action person had had the Christian grace to wait for a private interview. He, not keeping the commandments of God? Wherein was he disobeying? Oh, yes! He had heard of this Seventh Day Baptist sister who had recently come here to live, and of her decided views on the obligation of Christians to keep Saturday for Sunday. It was the literal fourth commandment she was now preaching to him.

At Washington, New Hampshire, Frederick Wheeler presides over a meeting at which William Farnsworth makes known his decision to keep the Sabbath. His brother Cyrus, back of him, also decides, and Rachel Oakes in front weeps with joy.

And it was an effective sermon. Frederick Wheeler went away thinking. He kept on thinking and studying, and not many weeks later he kept his first Sabbath and preached a sermon about it on that same day. This was in March, 1844.⁵ Either before this or shortly after, several of the members of this Washington Adventist company took their stand for the Sabbath. The first of these was William Farnsworth, a brother of Cyrus and father of that Eugene W. Farnsworth who became a prominent minister in the denomination. William Farnsworth was shortly followed by his brother Cyrus, and others, until a considerable part of the little church were Sabbath-keepers. This was all the fruit of the Spirit and of the labors of Rachel Oakes Preston, the Seventh Day Baptist.⁶

The Seventh Day Baptist people, who had become established and recognized in England as organized bodies as early as the mid-sixteenth century, appeared in America in Rhode Island in 1664 in the person of Stephen Mumford. They organized their first church in 1671,⁷ and with their small numbers upheld here alone for nearly two centuries the banner of the true Sabbath. At the very time the Millerites were marshaling believers in the cause of the Second Advent, the Seventh Day Baptists were especially aroused to prayer and greater effort in behalf of the Sabbath, by the declension of spirituality in the religious world, and by the growing threat of Sunday legislation.

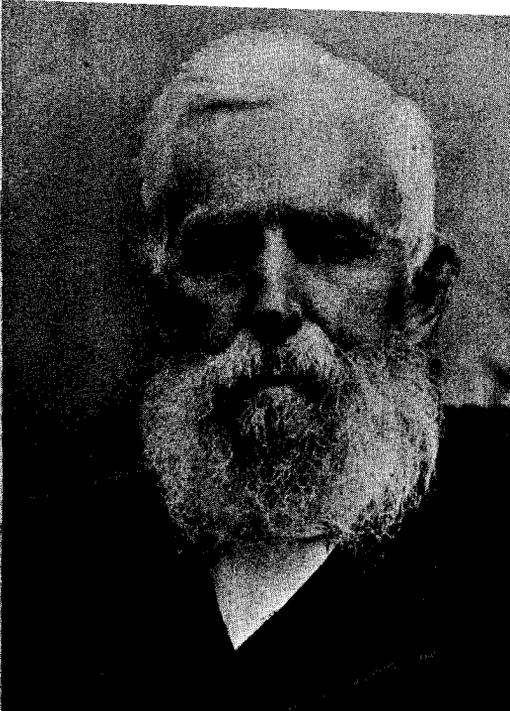
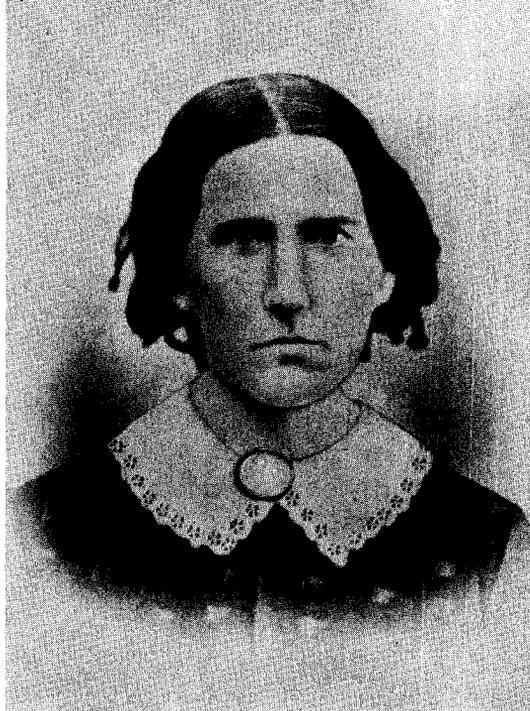
Their appeals and their evangelism, however, were not welcomed by the Sundaykeeping churches; and this attitude was shared in general by the Adventists, who up to the summer of 1844 retained their connections with the various Protestant churches. The leaders and the editors of the Adventists deprecated the agitation among their people in behalf of the Sabbath. In *The Midnight Cry* we read, "Many persons have their minds deeply exercised respecting a supposed obligation to observe the seventh day"; but "we feel borne irresistibly to the conclusion that there is no particular portion of time which Christians are required by law to set apart as holy time."

And in a later issue we find: "We love the seventh-day brethren and sisters, but we think they are trying to mend the old broken Jewish yoke, and putting it on their necks."⁸

The Seventh Day Baptists reciprocated by being very skeptical of a people and a message which did not honor God's Sabbath. Few of their number entered the Adventist ranks.⁹ The truths of the second Advent and the Sabbath were finally united in the Seventh-day Adventists, to swell into a loud cry over the whole earth; but the two old bodies which had carried these truths apart went on their separate ways to the present day, diminishing and subsiding.

Doubtless Rachel Oakes Preston did not foresee the world-wide effect of her determined stand for the Sabbath in that little mountain community. How could she know? Her church had blown its silver trumpet unavailingly against these walls of Protestant indifference and hostility. She, a humble lay member, was but a housewife away back in the granite hills; she was not in the centers of influence—Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Cincinnati. After long and patient witnessing, at last she saw the conversion of a few farmers and a farmer-preacher. She had done her little duty. But she was the tiny burst of the match that the Spirit fanned into a great flame. And because she was faithful, today the Sabbath banner waves over the heads of more than a million heralds of the Advent, in every continent and country under the sun; and in nearly a thousand languages praise to God arises on His blessed audience day.

The next light kindled was in a more prominent preacher of the Second Advent. T. M. Preble, born in New Weare, New Hampshire, and in 1842-44 minister in charge of the Nashua Freewill Baptist church, itinerated with Miller and others, as well as alone, in the 1844 movement, including that of the "seventh month." The exact circumstances of his conversion to the seventh-day Sabbath are unknown, but his proximity to the Washington church and to Hillsboro is suggestive of his communication with them.¹⁰ In the summer of 1844 he



Rachel Oakes, the Seventh Day Baptist who brought the Sabbath truth to Frederick Wheeler, the first Seventh-day Adventist minister.

began to keep and to teach the true Sabbath. In 1845 his first advocacy of it in print, however, was an article on the subject for the Adventist periodical in Portland, Maine, *The Hope of Israel*.¹¹ It was then reprinted as a tract, which through its influence on several who were to become standard-bearers was one of the important mileposts in Sabbath reform. Preble kept the Sabbath for three years, until the summer of 1847; but then, under the influence of the Sundaykeeping Adventist ministers with whom he maintained connection, he was persuaded to repudiate it.¹²

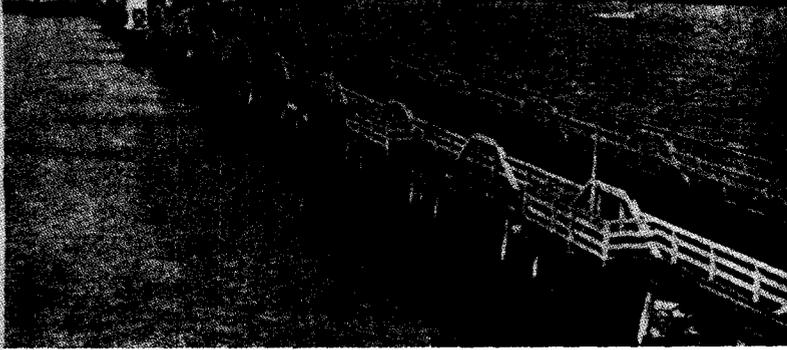
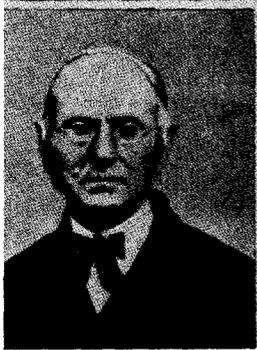
Another prominent minister who accepted the Sabbath a few months after Preble, probably following the disappointment, was J. B. Cook, who wrote articles advocating the seventh-day Sabbath, during 1845-46 in *The Day Dawn* and *The Day-Star*, two papers then favorable to the doctrine. He likewise, after a year or two, went back on his teaching. Elder

Cook had a thorough theological training, was a powerful preacher, and became very influential in the 1844 movement.¹³ His uncertain wandering after the disappointment, now in and now out of the truth, was unfortunately too common an experience among the foremost men who then lost their way.

But now we come to a man of very different caliber. Joseph Bates read Preble's article in *The Hope of Israel* in March of 1845. Characteristically he was prompt in his decision. Conviction of the truth came to his mind speedily, for his thorough knowledge of Scripture saved him the labor of research. Yet, as to most men, the difficulties of acting on his conviction rose before him. His family, his friends, his brethren—what would they say? What would they do? His small wealth was gone, spent in the cause of the Second Advent; why should he not turn to the recouping of his fortunes, now that the hope had faded? Ah, but it had not faded to Joseph Bates! He never wavered in his faith; the Lord was coming! And he must follow on wherever God opened the way. "In a few days," he says, "my mind was made up to begin to keep the fourth commandment."¹⁴

Once again, as on the occasion of his prompt acceptance of the Second Advent message in 1839, his wife, Prudence, had occasion to exclaim, "Oh, you are always so sanguine"—a term she apparently meant for "impulsive," "enthusiastic." Prudence was her name, and prudence an outstanding quality of her character. For four years she bore with exemplary fortitude the obloquy and the poverty that followed this decision, until in 1850 her *unsanguine* mind caught up with his, and she fully embraced the Sabbath.¹⁵

Joseph Bates was not the child of an hour. Others flashed their phosphorescent gleams in the darkness for a moment; he lighted his torch never to be quenched. His resolutions, sudden as they seemed to be, had always a background of solid study and steady advancement. He came to his momentous decisions in self-discipline, in social reforms, in religious concepts, after apprentice periods of thought and experience which prepared



The bridge at Fairhaven, Connecticut, where Joseph Bates (inset) met James Hall and introduced the Sabbath truth to him.

him for the crises. Every one of his changes in character and in doctrine seemed contrary to his environment or his previous course; but throughout his life he disciplined himself to act on conviction, not on preference; and in that law of his Master's he found peace, confidence, and joy. God tried different men to draw the bow for His Sabbath arrow; it was when He came to Joseph Bates that He found the tested sinew and the true eye that sent that arrow to its mark.

Along with the message of the Sabbath from Preble's pen, the news of the little Sabbathkeeping company in the mountains of New Hampshire had filtered down to the tidewaters of Massachusetts. Joseph Bates felt an intense yearning to see and to talk with these disciples of the new-old faith. So he took the train and the stage, and then he took to foot; and at ten o'clock one night in May he knocked at the door of a darkened farmhouse (for farmers must sleep by night to work by day), and was welcomed in by Frederick Wheeler.¹⁰ Eleven-year-old George, who heard the knocking and the welcome, was fitfully wakened by his curiosity throughout the night,

to hear his father and the stranger talking, talking till the dawn. Then the family met "dear Brother Bates," and after worship and breakfast George and the hired man were sent out to the fields while Elder Wheeler took his visitor over to Cyrus Farnsworth's.

By whatever way it was that led to the village set on the hill, they journeyed that morning, presumably by horse and buggy, to Washington. There one road turns left, to run along the west side of Millen Pond;¹⁷ another, an upland road which passes the brick schoolhouse, would be somewhat more direct, and this they probably took. The present road, which runs close to the lake on the east side and which is a short cut, had not then been built. Perhaps, then, they rode yet two miles to Cyrus Farnsworth's. The house sits on a gentle hillside, sloping down to a meadow beside the pond. In front, on a not very expansive lawn, still stand two of the maple trees that mark the spot where the first Seventh-day Adventist conference was held. Whether more than the visitors and Cyrus were present is not known; but it would not surprise us to learn that Frederick Wheeler sent for William, who lived two and a half miles away, and perhaps for other brethren.

Joseph Bates was an eager Eliezer, who could not tarry on his Master's business. Having found what he came to seek, he declined the pressing hospitality of his friends, and hastened back.¹⁸ We feel even today the leaping joy of this apostle of the new faith as, eager and urgent, he bade good-by that noon to his brethren in the mountains; and the next morning, or perhaps the second, on the wooden bridge between New Bedford and Fair Haven, he answered the greeting of his neighbor and fellow Adventist, James Monroe Hall, "Captain Bates, what is the news?" with a jubilant response, "The news is that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord our God."¹⁹

There were other converts made by Preble's writing. Among them were a group in Paris, Maine, one of whom was to prove a Timothy to James White's Paul and Joseph Bates's Peter.

Edward Andrews gave shelter in his capacious house to the Stowell family, who had sold their farm in anticipation of the Lord's coming. The fifteen-year-old daughter of Stowell picked up the tract in which Preble had reprinted *The Hope of Israel* article, and she and her older brother Oswald kept the next Sabbath, very quietly. On Monday she gave the tract to young John Nevins Andrews, the seventeen-year-old son of Edward. He read it and returned it, saying, "Have your father and mother read this?"

"No; but I have, and found that we are not keeping the right Sabbath. Are you willing to keep the right Sabbath, Brother John?"

"Indeed I am. Will you keep it with me, Marian?"

"Of course. Brother Oswald and I kept last Sabbath. We'll be glad to have you join us. But you take Elder Preble's tract to your father and mother to read."

"All right." They read it, then brought it back to Mr. Stowell and his wife, with the result that both families kept the next Sabbath, meeting for the service in one of their rooms. Seventh Day Baptist literature was then sent for, and distributed. Seven other families in this and adjoining towns accepted the Sabbath, the first of them being Cyprian Stevens's family, including the two young women who afterward became Mrs. J. N. Andrews and Mrs. Uriah Smith.²⁰ They were to be included in the fraternity that formed around Bates, White, and Ellen Harmon White; and John N. Andrews was to become a leader almost of the stature of those chief pioneers—editor, author, scholar, preacher, administrator, and first Seventh-day Adventist missionary abroad.

The account has been given in chapter 6 of Bates's meeting with Hiram Edson and his group at Port Gibson, there being confirmed in the sanctuary truth of which he had learned through *The Day Dawn*, and there giving to that company his light on the true Sabbath. This meeting was probably in the latter part of 1845. Although there is no record of Joseph Bates's activities in that year other than what is above related,

our knowledge of the man, his devotion and piety and energy, makes us certain that he was engaged in preaching the Sabbath wherever he could go and to whomever he could reach. His financial resources were then practically exhausted. He had used all his money in the proclamation of the Second Advent. Possibly he owned his home in Fair Haven, and it may be that his diligence and ability in that seaport town provided some slight income, though his business was preaching the gospel without money and without price. But he had a favorite saying, "The Lord will provide;" and over and over again he proved it. When he traveled, money for his fare more than once came to him in the nick of time, sometimes from total strangers, other times from friends who learned of his need.²¹

Early in 1846 he decided that he must supplement his preaching with literature. He determined to write a book or tract on the Sabbath question. How to pay for its publication he did not know, for his funds had shrunk to a lone York shilling, twelve and a half cents. But he had made his decision on his knees, taking the project as a command from God; he therefore cheerfully sat him down with Bible and concordance, and began to write.²² The financial problem was the Lord's.

Scarcely had an hour passed when his wife opened the door, and said, "Joseph, I haven't enough flour to finish my baking."

"How much flour do you lack?" asked her husband.

"Oh, about four pounds."

"Very well," said he, and rose to go out. He went to a near-by store, and purchased four pounds of flour and a few small articles she had added, and took them back to the kitchen; from which Mrs. Bates was just then absent. Again he seated himself at his desk.

Shortly Mrs. Bates came in, flustered, exclaiming, "Joseph, where did this flour come from?"

"Isn't there enough?" he inquired innocently. "You said you wanted four pounds."

"Yes, but where did you get it?"

"I bought it. Isn't that the amount you wanted?"

"Yes; but have *you*, Captain Bates, a man who has sailed vessels out of New Bedford to all parts of the world, gone out and bought *four* pounds of flour?"

"Wife," said he, "I spent for those articles the last money I have on earth."

It was a blow; for while she knew and approved of his free spending for the cause, she had not supposed they were down to nothing. The tears flowed from her eyes. She sobbed, "What are we going to do?"

The captain rose to his full height. "I am going to write a book," he said; "I am going to circulate it, and spread this Sabbath truth before the world."

"Well, but," said Mrs. Bates, "what are we going to live on?"

"The Lord is going to open the way," was the smiling reply.

"Yes, the Lord is going to open the way! That's what you always say!" And crying bitterly, she left the room.

The husband returned to his apostleship, and wrote. Within half an hour he felt the impression that he must go to the post office, where a letter would be awaiting him. There he found indeed the letter, but with postage unpaid, as it might be in those days. His York shilling was gone; he had not postage money. He had to confess this to the postmaster.

"Oh, that's all right, Captain Bates," said Postmaster Drew. "Take it along and pay some other time."

"No," said the captain, "I'll pay as I go. But open the letter. I think there is money in it. And you shall take out the postage before I touch it."

Complying, the postmaster drew out a ten-dollar bill. The sender explained that the Lord had so impressed his mind that Elder Bates was in need of money that he hastened it to him, but in his haste he forgot to pay the postage. After paying the postage Bates went out, bought a barrel of flour, potatoes, sugar, and other provisions, and directed the drayman to leave them on the porch of his house, warning him against the anti-

pated protest of the woman there. He then went to the printer's and arranged for printing a thousand copies of the pamphlet he was to write, promising to pay as it was delivered. He had no money for that, but he knew the Lord would provide.

Arriving at home, he found an excited wife, who demanded to know where the provisions came from.

"Well," said he, "the Lord sent them."

"Yes, the Lord sent it! That's what you always say!"

"Read this," he went on, handing her the letter, "and you will see where it came from."

She read it, and then retired for another cry, but in a very different frame of mind.²³

So again and again providences attended the way of Joseph Bates. He testifies that he and his family never came to want; he never begged; but, living frugally,²⁴ waiting upon God, he found his wants and his family's needs supplied.

The pamphlet of forty-eight pages was entitled *The Seventh-day Sabbath a Perpetual Sign*. It came from the press in August, 1846, and proved a mighty instrument in the propagation of the Sabbath truth.²⁵ The money for its payment came, as Joseph Bates expected, in small sums from various sources, often by sacrifice on the part of the donors. The last of the bill was paid by H. S. Gurney, the blacksmith friend and co-worker with Bates, but unknown to the latter to the day of his death.

Gurney received, unsolicited and unexpectedly, the payment of an old debt of \$100 which the debtor had sworn he would never pay;²⁶ and Gurney hastened with it to the printshop and settled the last of the bill. The printer professed to Bates that he did not know who paid it, and Joseph Bates put it down to the mysterious but satisfactory financing of the Lord.

The first meeting of Bates with Ellen Harmon seems to have been sometime in 1845; at least Bates testified in 1847 that he had met her "about two years since," "and heard her relate the substance of her visions as she has since published them in Portland."²⁷ Neither then nor at their second meeting, however, did he accept her experience as from the Lord. This



second meeting came in the summer of 1846, when Ellen Harmon and James White, with others, visited New Bedford. Joseph Bates, skeptical and suspicious of all occult manifestations, though he could find no fault in the young woman's life and behavior or in her testimony, was, as he said, "alarmed and tried exceedingly." There the matter rested for some time.

In turn, Ellen Harmon and James White listened to Joseph Bates expound the Sabbath doctrine. But she had been brought up in the Methodist faith, "free grace and dying love"; and he had been a Christian, "not under the law." They recognized the great service that Brother Bates had given in the Second Advent Movement, and they were charmed with his paternal graciousness.²⁸ But they felt that he erred in placing so much stress on the keeping of a Sabbath that to them was only Jewish and not related to Christian experience.

However, the message of Elder Bates stayed in their minds. They were married on August 30 of 1846. After their marriage they studied Bates's pamphlet, and before the end of the year they had accepted the Sabbath, and soon joined with Joseph Bates in its proclamation. In the spring of 1847 Mrs. White had a vision in which the perpetuity of the law of God and the supreme place in it of the true Sabbath were stressed, and thus was confirmed their belief which they had derived from the Bible.²⁹

In the beginning of the movement, the Sabbath truth was to this little band of Adventists purely a test of loyalty to God. There was the command; would they obey? That was the law; could any offend without penalty? Who would be on the Lord's side? The natural man, being by disposition and education a transgressor and therefore lawless, would seize every pretext to avoid any requirement of God's law which went counter to his practice. The Sabbath had, centuries before, been ousted from its place in the law of God by professed but recreant Christendom. Because of the inconvenience and hardship in its observance, as well as because of ecclesiastical pride and stubbornness of opinion, it was the greatest challenge to

In Paris, Maine, young Oswald and Marian Stowell, after reading Preble's treatise on the seventh day in *The Hope of Israel*, began keeping the Sabbath. Here J. N. Andrews is returning the tract and promising to do likewise.

the perfunctory Christian. The Protestants of that time, as indeed before and ever since, dug up the no-law arguments of the antinomians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, refurbishing them with various embellishments, for the battle now joining. The Sabbath advocates steadily maintained the perpetuity of the whole moral law of God, and stressed the seventh-day Sabbath as the crux of the conflict. It must be confessed that the battle over the Sabbath was, especially in the first three or four decades of Seventh-day Adventist history, chiefly a legal argument. And this battle between the Sabbatarians and the Sunday observers waxed bitter.

All honor to the pioneers who brought forth the truth of the Sabbath from the rubbish heaps of the Dark Ages, who proclaimed the unbroken law of God and waged their warfare under its shield. They were strong men, valiant men, sometimes stern men; for theirs was the mission to uphold the government of God and the seal of His authority. Yet in them too there was begotten, even in those days of rigor, the gentle peace of heaven and delight in the law of the Lord.³⁰

But under the influence of the spiritual teachings of Mrs. White (who nonetheless recognized and maintained the law), the depth of the truth of the Sabbath became progressively better understood and appreciated. And even in the youth of her mission, her prophetic eye reached forward to the time of the end, our own time, of which she said, then "we went forth and proclaimed the Sabbath more fully"³¹—more fully, not merely in volume, but in character.

The Sabbath day is a definite day, the seventh day of the week, ordained at creation, never abrogated, impossible of abolishment, carried on into the redeemed state. Like the banner of a nation, which symbolizes the government in both its giving and its taking, the Sabbath-day flag flies over the people of God as the sign of His government in protection and in loyalty. Not for one people only was the Sabbath made, but for those of every nation and tongue and people who come out on the side of God:

"The sabbath was made for man."³² It is indeed a test of loyalty, but it is more.

The Sabbath is an experience. *Sabbath* means "rest," not physical rest alone, but spiritual rest. It is the experience to which Jesus invited, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls."³³ The Sabbath of God is the rest of God, the reception of the life of Christ within His disciple, the casting out of sin and evil habit, the restoration of the image of God, the peace that passes all understanding. The Sabbath of God is in the soul of the believer; it goes with him every day of the week, every hour of the day. It changes his desires, his appetites, his ambitions, his whole nature, from that of the worldling to that of the Christian. The Sabbath is the life of Christ within. It is the sign without of the true believer's allegiance to the Creator. It is the open door to heaven at the end of the weekly corridor of days.

With such an experience, how gladly, then, does the child of God greet the Sabbath day, set aside by the gracious command of God for the fuller and deeper exercise of his faculties in the things of Christ. While every day he communes with God, through prayer, and study of the Word and the works of God, and carries that peace into all his transactions and experience, yet he is not able to give complete attention to these spiritual exercises, in nature study, in sacred history, in prophecy, in communion, which most delight his soul. During the days of the week the cares of business distract his attention; he cannot give to his home and his children all the thought and provision and instruction he desires to give. He cannot study as he would; he cannot commune with his brethren as thoroughly. "But God's love has set a limit to the demands of toil. Over the Sabbath He places His merciful hand. In His own day He preserves for the family opportunity for communion with Him, with nature, and with one another."³⁴

This is the holy place of communion with God. This is

the sign, the seal of oneness with God.³⁵ This is the insigne of the government of God. This is the flag of heaven. Lord, Thou hast given a banner to them that fear Thee; and Thy banner over them is love.³⁶

¹ See Appendix.

² See Appendix.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ See Appendix.

⁶ See Appendix.

⁷ James Bailey, *History of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference*, pp. 237, 238.

⁸ *The Midnight Cry*, Sept. 5, 12, 1844.

⁹ See Appendix.

¹⁰ See Appendix.

¹¹ *The Hope of Israel*, Feb. 28, 1845.

¹² *The Advent Herald*, July 3, 1852.

¹³ Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, pp. 275, 276.

¹⁴ Joseph Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath a Perpetual Sign*, August, 1846, p. 40.

¹⁵ The tradition has come down in Fairhaven that Captain Bates used to take his wife in their carriage to the Christian church on Sunday, but he himself would not enter to worship "on the pope's Sabbath"; he would return for her after church.

¹⁶ Spicer, *op. cit.*, p. 50. This must have been on a rented or borrowed farm, as Wheeler had sold his own in 1844.

¹⁷ In New England *pond* is applied to any body of water small enough for the eye to compass its confines. *Lake* is reserved for considerable inland seas, like Winnepesaukee or Champlain.

¹⁸ This is the testimony of George Wheeler. If correct, it does not seem probable that, in those days of foot or horse travel, either William or any other neighbor could have been gathered to the conference at Cyrus's. Yet Eugene Farnsworth tells of Bates greeting his father, William, with the words, "We have new light," and William responding, "Is it the Sabbath? We have that." (See also *General Conference Bulletin*, June 2, 1909, p. 290.) Other testimony is that Bates spent several days there.

¹⁹ J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 251.

²⁰ Mrs. Marian C. Crawford, (Truesdail Stowell) in *General Conference Bulletin*, April 8, 1901, p. 116; *The Watchman*, April 25, 1905, p. 278.

²¹ See Appendix.

²² See Appendix.

²³ Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-254.

²⁴ See Appendix.

²⁵ J. B. Cook commented in *The Day Dawn* (Dec. 16, 1846, quoted in *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 11), "Brother Bates' pamphlet on the Sabbath is good."

²⁶ See Appendix.

²⁷ *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* p. 21.

²⁸ Says Mrs. White, "He treated me as tenderly as though I were his own child."—*Life Sketches*, p. 236. He was some thirty years his senior.

²⁹ Arthur L. White, *Prophetic Guidance in Early Days* (Brochure), p. 10.

³⁰ It is related of Joseph Bates by the ancients, that he would sit in prayer and testimony meetings and, joyfully clapping his hands, exclaim, "Oh, how I do love this Sabbath!"—SPICER, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

³¹ Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, pp. 33, 85.

³² Mark 2:27.

³³ Matthew 11:28, 29.

³⁴ Ellen G. White, *Education*, p. 251.

³⁵ Ezekiel 20:12; Revelation 7:2-4.

³⁶ See Appendix.

LIGHT THROUGH THE DARKNESS

THE late '40's and the '50's were days of darkness, perplexity, trial, and strife. The world was in turmoil. The year 1848 was the year of great revolutions in Europe. England, always the most stable of the European nations, saw the mustering of the Chartists, which threatened but did not eventuate in revolution. But in France, King Louis Philippe was not so fortunate in the attempt to suppress popular insurrection, and volatile France turned again to a republic, only to lose it four years later in the Second Empire of Napoleon III, which lasted until 1870. Germany and Austria felt the impact of the revolution in France, and riots and rebellion were rife; but the autocratic hand was too strong, especially in Austria; and tens of thousands of Germans fled to America. Italy flamed with Garibaldi's Red Shirts, and the final championing of the liberal cause by Victor Emmanuel. In 1854 Russia's aggression against the sickly Turk, who however was strongly supported by England and France, resulted in the Crimean War, highlighted by Florence Nightingale's establishment of the first effective nursing corps and by the incident celebrated in Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade." All Europe was aflame, and the unrest spread to the Orient, signaled by Perry's "forcibly friendly" opening of Japan in 1854 and by the Sepoy Mutiny in India, 1857. The unquiet state of the world was closely watched by Adventists, who saw first the promise of impending dissolution, and then in the sudden calming of the strife the work of the angels who were to hold the four winds of heaven, "that the wind should not blow on the earth" until the appointed ministers of God had "sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads."¹

In the American nation there were war and the makings of war. Underneath all the political activities of the time lay a

great moral question. The public mind and conscience were troubled over slavery. The South, agricultural and feudal, was convinced that its economic existence was wrapped up in its "peculiar institution." The North, expanding in industry and accustomed to free labor, was divided and confused in opinion, but ever tending toward opposition to slavery. The War with Mexico, 1846-48, was born of the lust for territorial expansion; and since the Southwest was involved, that expansion was in the interests of slavery. New England and the whole Northeast were strongly opposed to the war. When it terminated in the triumph of American arms, and Texas and California, with the intervening territory, were safely within the Union, the underlying issue of slavery shot to the surface.

The decade ended with the discovery of gold in California; and the forty-niners, flocking to the golden West, soon increased California's population to the point of Statehood. Free, or slave? Nothing in California, either land or people, recommended slavery; in 1850 she was admitted as a free-soil State. This upset the balance in the United States Senate, the membership of which had so far teetered to an equilibrium between free-soil and slavery men. From this point the struggle between North and South grew ever more intense. The Fugitive Slave Law was challenged by the Underground Railway, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill by the formation of the Republican party. Illinois became the forum for the epochal debates of Lincoln and Douglas, "bleeding Kansas," the training ground of John Brown. The nation lurched toward civil war.

Hidden under the raging billows of the slavery controversy, there were currents of religious thinking which were to have great influence in the next century. First and the least of these were the Shaker and the Mormon religions, which indeed had earlier origins, but at this time came most into public notice. The Shaker² organization was founded by Ann Lee, an English-woman, originally a Quaker, but who developed very divergent doctrines, chief of which was the incarnation of Christ in herself—the "second coming." They received the popular appel-

lation of "Shakers" from the peculiar religious dances which were a part of their ritual. The sect practiced celibacy and community of goods, and they agreed with the Universalists in the doctrine that all men would be saved. Ann died in 1784, but the momentum of her movement reached over into the middle of the nineteenth century, when it began to decline, until today it is practically extinct. But in the unsettled state of religious thinking in the midst of the nineteenth century, Shakerism, with its spiritualistic interpretation of Christ's coming and its rigid legalistic code of morals, appealed to not a few.

The Mormon Church³ was founded in the early 1830's by Joseph Smith, their religion being based on asserted revelations to Smith which are contained in the Book of Mormon. Quite oppositely to the Shakers, they taught and practiced plurality of wives. Never to become a dominant issue, Mormonism, nevertheless, in the sparse frontier population of the then Northwest, was sufficiently disturbing in its crude theology and its fantastic claim of territorial right to all the West, to stir the passions of the communities and sections where it lodged—first Ohio, then Missouri, then Illinois. Violence flared against its adherents; and finally in 1847 the issue was shunted to a later generation by the desperate and heroic trek of a great part of the Mormon people, under Brigham Young, to the region of the Great Salt Lake, and their formation there of the ostensibly independent State of Deseret. Half a century later, upon the church's abandonment of polygamy, the State, not wholly Mormon, became the forty-fifth of the Union, Utah.

Spiritism, a more dangerous delusion, finding its roots in the almost universal belief of Christendom in the consciousness of the dead, broke out in its virulent form in the spirit rappings at the home of the Fox family near Rochester, New York, in 1848. It is the modern form of ancient necromancy and sorcery. The typical churchman of the 1850's had an aversion to this spectral cult comparable to the horror of his Puritan forebear of the 1690's over witchcraft; but because he had inherited the



ANN LEE



WILLIAM MILLER



heathen belief in the world of spirits, he was uncomfortably fearful that communication might have been established. And some there were on the unstable perimeter of faith, who clasped the macabre skeleton to their bosoms. Only the pure doctrine of immortality through Christ, the sleep of the dead, and the resurrection on the judgment day, which had then made great headway among Adventists, was sufficient to oppose the claims of spiritism, and to assign its manifestations to their real source, communication with the spirits of devils. Like a poison leaven, the cult, beginning in crude fashion as communications by rappings, levitations, and slate tracings, has in similar or more subtle forms penetrated the ranks of the churches and the populace. Its strength in the religious world is not to be measured by formal spiritualistic organizations; there are yet to come manifestations of its power that will demonstrate its character and purposes as one of the great sinister forces in America and in the world.⁴

The third force to assault the Christian ramparts came in flank rather than with a frontal attack. It presented itself, not as a religion, but as a science—the evolution hypothesis, and its resultant treatments of natural and social sciences. Its advocates brushed aside the claims of orthodoxy and the testimony of the Bible. “All that”—with a wave of the hand—“is not in our province. We are men who pursue with single mind the trail of truth, the truth of science. If ancient superstitions suffer from our findings, that is incidental; we are not concerned.”

Yet faith can never be absent from any belief, and evolution is in fact a faith, to which its adherents are as passionately attached as ever the devotees of ancient superstitions. Suggest to an indoctrinated evolutionist any interpretation of phenomena other than his own, and he becomes the typical intolerant and supercilious dogmatist. Evolution is indeed a religion, riding in arrogance upon the pale horse of sciolism over the minds of men.⁵

Modernizing the cosmogonical ideas of the ancient Greeks, and misreading and misinterpreting the findings of geology

and biology, this pseudo science, then in its infancy, was soon to permeate the thinking, the texts, and the teaching, not only of the state-supported systems of education, but of church institutions and pulpits. Not, alone in physical science and cosmogony, but in all the mental sciences and philosophies, it seized the reins of education, and undermined the foundations of Christianity. Today it is successfully opposed, in all its barefaced negation of divine revelation, chiefly by that small company who "keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." *

As a body, the Adventists who came through the disappointment of 1844 were in no condition to take the lance against the fantasies and false philosophies of the day. They were a shipwrecked remnant, clinging to the spars of their disintegrated hope. The Second Advent had been their star of promise in the gloom of the wicked world in which they found themselves. How much more wicked, how diabolically ingenious in violence, perfidy, and shame that world could yet become, was to them unimaginable. The failure of their prediction of the end of the world lay upon them an incubus of agony. The world jeered; their faith shook. They could think only of their plight.

Small wonder, then, that there was a period of chaos in the immediate years after their disappointment. Some, in whom the word had taken shallow root, fell away; but there remained a goodly company who kept their faith, though with trembling and fear. To these the first temptation was to seek the correction of their chronology. Perhaps, they thought, it was not so exact; it might have been approximate rather than definitive. Or perhaps there was some hidden error in the computation or in the beginning dates upon which their interpretation was based. Searching parties went out to find the fault, and this one and that one reported back that they had made the great discovery. Hence there were, by some, new times set for the Advent. The first was the next year, 1845, then 1846, 1849. An interval of three years was followed by predictions of 1850 and 1851, then followed 1854, 1866, and so on to the final 1877. But these

attracted only portions of believers in the Second Advent; the majority groped in bewilderment. In the twilight that had descended there was need of a clear light.

Miller himself deprecated the setting of any further dates. He believed his computation of time was correct, so far as authorities in chronology could be depended upon. And, holding that Christ might come any day, he quieted his soul to waiting. "I have fixed my mind upon another time," he wrote; "that is *To-day*, TO-DAY, TO-DAY, until He comes." ⁷ He had no weary wait. Having begun his ministry only when he had reached the half-century mark, he was much afflicted with illnesses during it, and his strength was well-nigh spent when the time in 1844 passed. For two or three years afterward he maintained some degree of activity, writing and preaching, but at last infirmities bowed him low, and on December 20, 1849, he died. "Angels watch the precious dust of this servant of God, and he will come forth at the sound of the last trump." ⁸

Besides the confusion of interpretations among these early Adventist leaders, the cause quickly experienced the plague of that fanaticism which always lurks among the more unbalanced followers of any worthy movement. While the Second Advent message was being energetically proclaimed, these were held in check by the forward momentum and by the vigorous action of the leaders. ⁹ But now that there was no certain objective, and authority had diminished to the vanishing point, these fanatical figures appeared to work havoc upon the structure of the faith. It seems absurd today to mention some of the childish positions taken and actions performed; but it must be remembered that although a strong church can afford to ignore the aberrations of a small and unrepresentative class, a weak and disintegrating body is peculiarly subject to its inroads and its taint. The cause of the Second Advent was made to bear this disrepute because of the shocking behavior of a few fanatics.

There were some who declared that Jesus' words in Matthew 18, "Except ye . . . become as little children," re-

quired of them to imitate babies, and they would creep on all fours, not only in their houses, but on the streets, across bridges, and in the churches.¹⁰ There were some who claimed that, being wholly sanctified and having arrived in the seventh millennium or antitypical Sabbath, it would be a sin for them to work, so they left the support of their families to their wives and the neighbors, while they sat and discoursed upon alleged spiritual matters.¹¹ There were some whose religion seemed to consist wholly of loud shouting and bodily contortions, who made their meetings bedlam and their message confusion.¹² There were some who practiced mesmerism, or hypnotism as it is called today, using it to win followers who regarded them as holy men, while they were practicing gross sins.¹³ These silly or dangerous attitudes were not by any means characteristic of the great body of believers, but their sensationalism advertised itself and deeply troubled the faithful body of believers who kept and cherished their faith in the imminent Advent.

The fanaticism was chiefly in evidence in northern New England, though somewhat also in Massachusetts and New York. The leaders, or former leaders, of the Adventist people mourned over these eruptions, and did indeed reprove them in private, but not in print, believing apparently that public notice would spread the disorders. It remained for one, "the weakest of the weak," to go down into the arena and boldly slay the wild beasts. Ellen Harmon, the seventeen-year-old maiden upon whom God had laid His hand in consecration, during the twenty months of 1845-46, before her marriage to James White, was in the midst of the fight, traveling with her sister, her sister-in-law, or others from Maine to Vermont and Massachusetts, as the Spirit directed, meekly yet boldly denouncing fanaticism and building up the faith of true believers. It suited not only these rebuked fanatics but certain spectators who stood afar off from the battle, to confound her opposition with connivance. She was accused of being the leader of the fanaticism she was constantly seeking to destroy.

Still, in obedience to the heavenly command she went forward in her mission.

She had a power that none could gainsay. Sometimes, fearing her opposition, men sought by deception to avoid her. So it was with two fanatics in Boston, Sargent and Robbins, who were advocates of the no-work doctrine, and who declared that Ellen Harmon's visions were of the devil. Invited to Massachusetts in the summer of 1845 by a faithful and true Adventist, Otis Nichols, of Dorchester (now South Boston), Miss Harmon and her sister Sarah accepted, and were entertained by the Nichols. While they were there, Sargent and Robbins came from Boston to visit, saying that they intended to stay all night. Mr. Nichols welcomed them. "The Misses Sarah and Ellen Harmon are in the house," he said, "and I want you to become acquainted with them." No, no! at once they replied, they could not stay; and nothing would induce them to put foot over the threshold.

"Well," said Mr. Nichols, "if we come to Boston, will Ellen Harmon be given an opportunity to bear her message, and will you hear and judge?"

"Oh, yes," said they, "come next Sunday. We should like to hear her."

Mr. Nichols laid his plans to drive with his family and the sisters to Boston on Sunday. But Saturday night at family worship Ellen was given a vision. After waking from it, she said, "Brother Nichols, I am not going into Boston to-morrow; the Lord has shown me I must go to Randolph. He has a work for me to do there." Randolph is thirteen miles south of Boston.

"But," objected her host, "what shall I do with my word to Sargent and Robbins?"

"Never mind that," said Ellen Harmon; "the Lord has bidden me to go the other way."

"Well, I don't understand it."

"The Lord showed me we would understand it when we get there," said she.

And they did; for when they arrived at Randolph, there

were Sargent and Robbins, who had thought they would neatly evade the meeting by this maneuver.¹⁴ There was a considerable company of Adventists in Randolph, largely under the influence of these men. The meeting was held in the house of a Mr. Thayer.

What followed was illustrative not only of the operation of the Holy Spirit upon Ellen Harmon in vision but of the effect of her message and mission. The meeting of the morning was held with these two men and another named French in charge. They intended to give no place to Ellen Harmon. During the intermission they boasted that she could have no vision where they were. But her presence troubled them; and well it might. In the beginning of the afternoon meeting, as prayer was being offered, she was taken into vision. With three enrapturing shouts of "Glory!" each fainter but more thrilling than the preceding, she lost for a moment all strength; then, filled with power, she rose to her feet and began to proclaim her message. Her open eyes, with mild but intense gaze, fastened, it seemed, upon distant objects, and though she spoke, no breathing was discernible.¹⁵

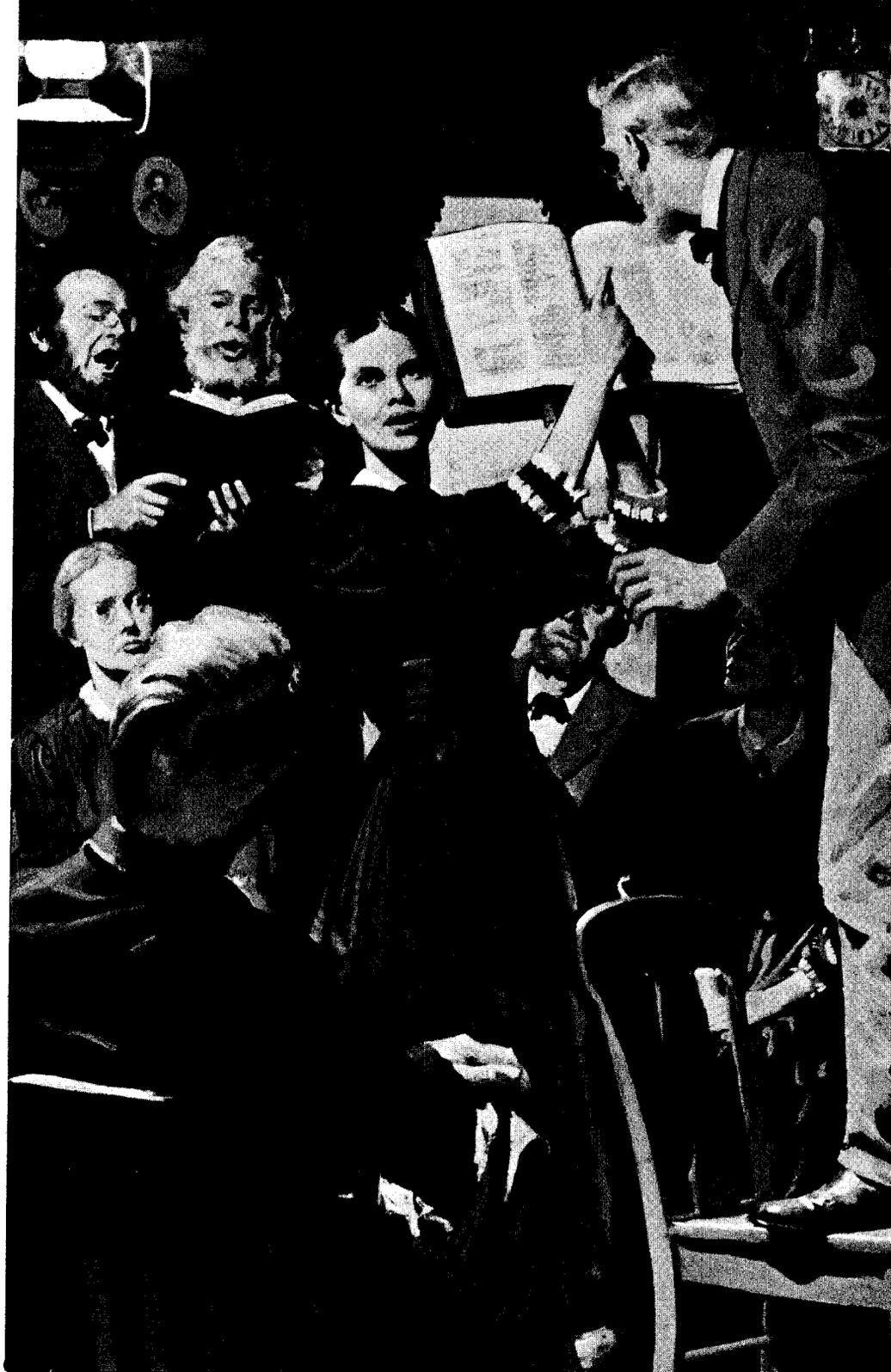
The three men were excited and exasperated, particularly as the message was directed against their fanatical teachings. They sought to restrain her, but in vain. They united in singing very loudly, then in turn speaking and reading from the Bible in as thunderous tones as they could command, until they were exhausted; yet Ellen's clear voice rose above or penetrated their tones, so that all could distinctly hear her. Some of their own adherents advised them to quit; but they shouted, "You are bowed to an idol: you are worshipping a golden calf."

Mr. Thayer, the owner of the house, was not fully satisfied that her vision was of the devil, as Robbins, Sargent, and French declared. He had heard that the devil might be exorcised by opening the Bible and presenting it to the medium. Taking a large family Bible from the table, he laid it against the breast of Miss Harmon. Immediately she took the heavy Bible and, holding it aloft in one hand, announced, "The in-

spired testimony from God." Then, with her eyes directed heavenward, she continued for a long time to turn the leaves with her other hand, and placing her finger upon passage after passage, repeated them. Some of the passages were judgments against the wicked and blasphemous; others were admonitions relating to conditions under which this company stood. Some of those present, standing on a chair, looked at the texts to which she pointed; she had quoted them correctly.

This is the longest vision on record. It continued through the afternoon meeting, for four hours, until near the set of sun, when she awoke out of it. Sargent, Robbins, and French were silenced when she arose with the Bible held aloft on that frail arm, and so continued for a long time. And when she, unseeing, quoted the Scriptures which cut the ground from under their feet, they could say no word. Distaught but dumb, they braved the thing through, and departed with no acknowledgment. But their power was broken, and many who had been deceived by them were delivered from their bondage, and set their feet upon solid ground.¹⁶

In the first years of her ministry Ellen Harmon White received numerous open visions, at times in the presence of large audiences, and many were privileged to see and hear her.¹⁷ While in vision she often spoke in disconnected sentences, as one who, seeing and intently observing, makes comments only at intervals. It was after coming out of vision, usually, that she spoke her integrated messages, according to what she had been shown. It was without doubt a spectacular means of fixing attention upon her mission, yet withal to those who witnessed it a most impressive means. Those who, skeptical or opposing, knew it only by report, were then and afterward to deride and denounce her visions, confusing them with the seances of Spiritist mediums. But not a few who, at first opposed, saw her in vision and applied not only physical tests but tests of knowledge and spiritual grace, were convinced of its genuinely divine origin and yielded to its disciplines and heavenly counsel.



Prominent among these, and probably the most noted of converts from among Adventist leaders, was Joseph Bates. In the summer of 1846 Ellen Harmon visited New Bedford,¹⁸ and Bates there heard her relate some of her views seen in vision. He did not believe in modern visions and dreams; and though he found in the maiden the sweet and humble spirit of a Christian messenger, his mind was sorely exercised and troubled by her experience. But in the month of November, 1846, a conference of Sabbathkeeping Adventists was called in Topsham, Maine, and Joseph Bates, as the acknowledged leader, was called to attend.¹⁹ Maine at that time contained the largest nucleus of Sabbathkeepers, about twenty-five; there were as many more scattered throughout New England.²⁰ Topsham, some thirty miles northeast of Portland, was the home of Stockbridge Howland, a prominent construction engineer who had accepted the Second Advent and the Sabbath messages, and who was to be closely identified with the cause for the rest of his life. The largest company of Sabbathkeepers was in the vicinity of Paris, home of the Andrews family. James White and Ellen Harmon had been united in marriage in August of this year, and shortly afterward accepted the seventh-day Sabbath from studying Elder Bates's pamphlet. They also were in attendance at Topsham.

Bates, from his experience as a sea captain, was deeply interested in astronomy and well versed in it. Having read the published reports by the English-Irish astronomer, Lord William Parsons Rosse, of his discoveries in the nebula of Orion, through his new and then greatest reflecting telescope, Bates had become tremendously excited over his description of a "gap in the sky," near one side of that nebula. The Dutch astronomer, Huygens, in 1656 made the first effective observations; the Herschels and other astronomers added to the knowledge, and now the Earl of Rosse had further advanced it. Huygens had described the opening, "through which one had a free view into another region which was more enlightened"; its immense diameter and its glory had been empha-

sized by Sir William Herschel and his son Sir John; and the celebrated Scottish astronomer, Thomas Dick, wrote of it: "The ultimate design of such an object, in all its bearings and relations, may perhaps remain to be evolved during the future ages of an interminable existence; and, like many other objects in the distant spaces of creation, it excites in the mind a longing desire to behold the splendid and mysterious scenes of the universe a little more unfolded."²¹ This corridor of light, delimited by four great stars, not even a pin point to the naked eye but in reality so broad that ninety thousand earth-orbits could march abreast into it, excites more and more the wonder of observers as its glory stands revealed under increasing telephotographic power.

Joseph Bates had, in conversation with the young Mrs. White, tried to interest her in topics of astronomy, but he found her quite uninformed, and therefore disinclined to converse upon them. She told him she had never looked into a work on astronomy. Now, however, in the meeting at Topsham, in the presence of Elder Bates she was taken into vision, and soon began to give a vivid description of "the opening heavens," with a luminous corridor leading to regions of glory beyond.

Elder Bates rose to his feet and paced the room. "That description," said he, "far surpasses any account of the open space in Orion I have ever read. Oh, how I wish Lord William Rosse were here tonight!"

"Who is Lord William Rosse?" inquired James White.

"The great English astronomer. I wish he were present to hear that woman give that description of 'the opening heavens.' It is ahead of anything I ever read on the subject."

From that evening Elder Bates was convinced of the genuineness of Mrs. White's visions and of their heavenly origin. In a tract which he soon published, in 1847, *A Vision*, containing one of her revelations relating to the Sabbath and the time of trouble to come,²² he wrote, in "Remarks" at the close: "I thank God for the opportunity I have had with others to wit-

ness these things. . . . I believe the work is of God, and is given to comfort and strengthen His 'scattered,' 'torn,' and 'pealed ['plundered'] people.'" ²⁸

Not alone in meeting the disordered minds of fanatics, and building where they tore down, but in stemming the tide of conjectural time setting which was the aftermath of the Disappointment, the services of Ellen Harmon White were outstanding. It was natural that the disappointed believers should look to the following year and the tenth day of the seventh month as the probable date of fulfillment; for all of them, of whatever faction, believed that they were in the time of the end, and the end must shortly be reached. Those—and they were the great majority—who were looking for some plausible adjustment of their chronology, blindly seized upon the idea that a year must be the ultimate limit of the "tarrying."

On the other hand, it is true that those Adventists—in 1845 a very small number—who had accepted the teaching that Christ on that autumn day of 1844 began in heaven His work of cleansing the sanctuary, were fortified against any tampering with the chronology; but their ideas were as yet rather fluid, and it was very easy for them to conceive that Christ's work would be finished within a year, the actual time of a prophetic day.

William Miller was never so positive as to the day as were many of his co-workers. His first time setting was very loose, "sometime between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844." The date of October 22, 1844, which he accepted but two weeks before its arrival, was to his mind only approximate. And after the disappointment, though he held that Christ's coming was imminent, his time was "Today, Today, Today." Yet he too leaned to the belief that the ultimate limit of his waiting would be the autumn of 1845.

How large a proportion of the Adventist body accepted the date of 1845 it is not now possible to ascertain; but in 1847, in *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* James White wrote, "It is well

known that many were expecting the Lord to come at the 7th month, 1845." He was one who expected it; he continued, "That Christ would then come we firmly believed. A few days before the time passed, I was at Fairhaven, and Dartmouth, Mass., with a message on this point of time." But "at this time, Ellen was with the band at Carver, Mass., where she saw in vision, that we should be disappointed, and that the saints must pass through the 'time of Jacob's trouble,' which was future."²⁴ Those who believed in the revelations of Ellen Harmon immediately dropped the prediction and expectation *before* they were disappointed.

Once more, in 1851, when the company of Sabbathkeeping Adventists had received considerable accessions and were being bound into a recognizable body, a question of time arose among them as well as others. And it was the deeply respected Joseph Bates who this time was in fault. He had, of course, accepted the view of the sanctuary service which makes one of the foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist faith. But working on the minutiae of the subject, and with the hope of the definite date of the Advent not yet wholly expunged from his mind, he thought he saw a symbolism in the seven times that the priest in the earthly sanctuary was to sprinkle the blood upon the altar. These seven times, or "seven spots" as he called them, he believed, without reason and without his usual logical thinking, signified seven years which would cover the period of the High Priest's cleansing of the sanctuary. He thereupon, in 1850, published a treatise on the sanctuary, in which he put forth this very tenuous theory, and thereby suggested the time of the Lord's coming as the fall of 1851. This he did, in the freedom of his leadership, without consulting his fellow workers. The believers, especially in Vermont and New Hampshire, gave considerable credence to it.

But in a vision at Camden, New York, Mrs. White received instruction, published in June of 1851, that this was wrong, that no more was time to be a test, and that attention to the great work of evangelization should not be distracted by time

setting.²⁵ Elder Bates received the correction dutifully, and stopped his advocacy of the time. Shortly it disappeared from view. This was the only instance of time setting among Seventh-day Adventists after they had become a distinct company, and it was repudiated by the leaders before the reaching of the date.

The later time setting of a large portion of the Adventist body had no connection with Seventh-day Adventists; for by that time the cleavage between the two was quite distinct, and the time setters were not of any party which gave credence to Mrs. White's visions or counsels.

While thus the Babylonian elements within the camp were being met, the dimly looming threat of future antagonists, like to the Macedonian and Roman powers in the time of Daniel, were perceived in the rising winds of teaching. The prophetic gift was young among this people, and in its frail and innocent repository was not worldly wise; yet sure as the radio-controlled rocket, it was pointed by the divine Hand toward its mark.

The spiritist delusion, beginning in 1848 by the establishment of a signal code of rappings by the Fox family, was by some thought amusing, by others feared. The general belief in the conscious state of the dead made it seem plausible if not lawful. A large portion, yet not then the majority, of Adventists had received, even before 1844, the doctrine, first taught among them by George Storrs, that "the dead know not any thing," waiting for the resurrection. That belief was from the first a part of the Seventh-day Adventist faith. This people were therefore in readiness to receive the counsels from Mrs. White against spiritism, ascribing its communications and influence, not to the dead, but to evil spirits. These counsels appear among her first writings, and have grown ever stronger and keener as the delusion has taken on force and respectability.²⁶

The cult of evolution makes its assault upon Christianity mainly through the schools, and it began this attack late in the century. So insidious was its approach, so half compromis-

ing were some of its advocates, that its threat was not easily perceived. But unconscious of the gathering force, the little company of Sabbathkeeping Adventists were, nevertheless, preparing a fortress which should stand out forever against the bold blasphemy and folly of its teachings. They did not know this; they knew only that here was a command of the great Jehovah, and that they must obey. And against the assaults of almost all the rest of Christendom they maintained the fortress of God's holy law and the citadel of the Sabbath. In their possession of the seventh-day Sabbath, the memorial of creation, the symbol of salvation, the sign of sanctification, they are committed to a philosophy of the cosmos directly opposed to evolution. Let that monstrous system of atheism prevail, and there remains no more Sabbath, no divine creation, no Saviour, and no God. Confront it with the Christian doctrines of creation, the Sabbath, the fall, redemption, and the cause of Christ is maintained.

In due time the Spirit spoke through Mrs. White on the subject of evolution.²⁷ As the denomination has grown, and as its educational system has developed, its teachers and its writers on science have consistently followed this lead, proving, not only from divine revelation, but from the same scientific data used or misused by evolutionists, the fallacy of their teaching. Today Seventh-day Adventists are unique among all church communions in holding officially and privately to the doctrine of a special creation as opposed to evolution.

In the fields of moral and physical reform the highest standards have prevailed. In the crisis of the nation over slavery the members of this then small church were unanimous for freedom and the rights of manhood. In temperance reform they have been in the foremost ranks, going far beyond all other temperance advocates in the basic control of appetites. Not only liquor is reprobated, but tobacco and all stimulants and flesh foods, and positive programs of health promotion are inculcated. In all this Mrs. White's gift has from the beginning led and upheld.

Thus did the light shine forth when the way was most uncertain and dark. It was a light received from heaven. In the simple language of her early writings Ellen Harmon White portrayed a vision of that light: "Before the throne I saw the Advent people,—the church and the world. I saw two companies, one bowed down before the throne, deeply interested, while the other stood uninterested and careless. Those who were bowed before the throne would offer up their prayers and look to Jesus; then He would look to His Father, and appear to be pleading with Him. A light would come from the Father to the Son, and from the Son to the praying company. Then I saw an exceeding bright light come from the Father to the Son, and from the Son it waved over the people before the throne. But few would receive this great light. Many came out from under it and immediately resisted it; others were careless and did not cherish the light, and it moved off from them. Some cherished it, and went and bowed down with the little praying company. This company all received the light, and rejoiced in it, and their countenances shone with its glory."²⁸

It was light from the Holy Spirit allied to the light of the Word. What the Bible taught was first dug out by students of the Word; then came the illumination of the Spirit; and where the way was darkest and feet were beginning to stumble, there the light shone brightest. That light was not to dazzle but to make clear the way of the Advent believers. It came in a time when they were surrounded by darkness; but as one and then another and another caught the beam, each became a center of illumination, and so, spreading through all the world, all were to lighten the earth with "the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."²⁹

Much later in her life, to an Australian audience in 1894, Mrs. White spoke of her first vision: "They thought that I was dead, and there they watched and cried and prayed so long, but to me it was heaven, it was life, and then the world was spread out before me and I saw darkness like the pall of

death. What did it mean? I could see no light. Then I saw a little glimmer of light and then another, and these lights increased and grew brighter, and multiplied and grew stronger and stronger till they were the light of the world. These were the believers in Jesus Christ."³⁰

It was God's gift³¹ to His last-day church, sorely beset by the dragon power. It is written, "And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." "For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."³²

"We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts."³³

¹ Revelation 7:1-3.

² Their official name is United Society of True Believers in Christ's Second Coming. Today there are fewer than fifty members of the society, distributed in four settlements: one each in Mount Lebanon, New York (the original Shaker village); Pittsfield, Massachusetts; Canterbury, New Hampshire; and Sabbathlake, Maine. (Letter from William L. Lassiter, Curator of History, New York State Museum, Dec. 10, 1945.)

³ The official name is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

⁴ Carlyle B. Haynes, *Spiritism and the Bible; The Other Side of Death*; Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, pp. 77, 87-89; *Patriarchs and Prophets*, pp. 683-689; *The Great Controversy*, pp. 531-562; *The Ministry of Healing*, p. 428; *Education*, pp. 227, 228.

⁵ See Appendix (Letter from F. L. Marsh).

⁶ George McCready Price, *Genesis Vindicated; If You Were the Creator; Evolutionary Geology and the New Catastrophism*; Frank Lewis Marsh, *Evolution, Creation, and Science*.

⁷ James White, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller*, p. 303; I. C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, p. 370.

⁸ Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, p. 258.

⁹ James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 86-92; Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-394.

¹⁰ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 86.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *General Conference Bulletin*, April 23, 1901, p. 420; *Prophetic Guidance in Early Days*, p. 8.

¹³ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 82-84.

¹⁴ J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 240-242.

¹⁵ See Appendix.

¹⁶ Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 205, 242-244; James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 231, 234.

¹⁷ Elder Loughborough states that, from first to last, he saw Mrs. White in about fifty visions (*The Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 204). James White, writing in 1868, stated that during the preceding twenty-three years she had probably had "between one and two hundred visions."—*Life Incidents*, p. 272.

¹⁸ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 95. Miss Harmon had made one or more

previous visits to New Bedford in 1845, but without a personal meeting with Joseph Bates, who, however, knew of her work through reports. He was probably absent on the occasions of her first visits. (James White, *Life Sketches*, p. 228; *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* p. 21; Ellen G. White, *Christian Experience and Teaching*, p. 85.)

¹⁹ Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-260.

²⁰ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 77.

²¹ Thomas Dick, *The Sideral Heavens*, pp. 184, 185.

²² An account of the vision may also be found in Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, pp. 32-35; *Experience and Teachings*, pp. 91-96.

²³ *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* p. 21.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22; James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 220-222.

²⁵ *Review and Herald*, July 21, 1851, p. 4; Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 72, 73; *Life Sketches*, pp. 220, 221.

²⁶ Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, pp. 59, 60, 86-92, 262-266; *The Great Controversy*, pp. 551-562.

²⁷ Ellen G. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, pp. 44-70, 90-104; *Education*, pp. 128-134.

²⁸ Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, pp. 54, 55.

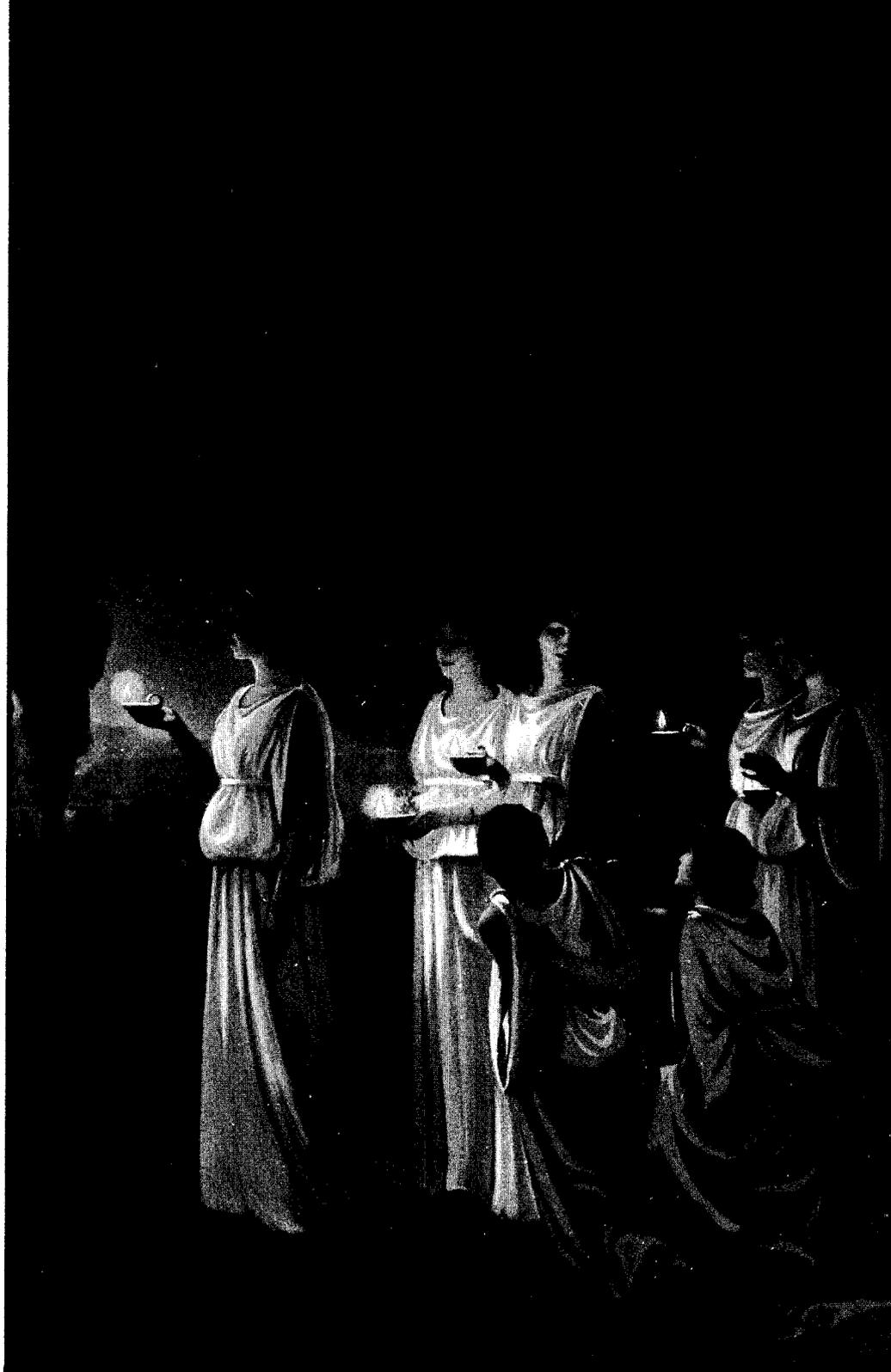
²⁹ Habakkuk 2:14.

³⁰ Arthur L. White, *The Prophetic Gift in Action*, p. 4.

³¹ See Appendix.

³² Revelation 12:17; 19:10.

³³ 2 Peter 1:19.



THE "SHUT DOOR" CONTROVERSY

THEY gathered about their aged leader, William Miller, at the Adventist church called the "House of Prayer," in Albany, New York. It was on April 29, 1845; and here, six months after the Disappointment, most of the chief men in the Second Advent Movement were convened, in an effort to gather together the broken threads of their brotherhood, and to construct, as they hoped, a strong bond of unity among Adventists. Many who came were apprehensive of internal strife; for already there had developed many factions, and voices that cried one against another. But the conference, under strong leadership, and in the absence of dissident persons, proved quite harmonious.

Joshua V. Himes, Josiah Litch, and William Miller had been the chief movers in this call for a conference, which consisted of sixty-one recognized delegates from responding Adventist societies, in nine States and Ontario, Canada.

Hail the brethren!

"Father Miller!"

"Ah, dear Brother Himes, from Boston."

"And Brother Litch, from Philadelphia."

"Brother Hutchinson, from Toronto. Brother Bliss, Dr. Fassett, Brother Hale, Brother Galusha, Brother Pearson, and Brother Fleming, formerly from Portland, Professor Whiting."

But there were absences noted. This Albany had been the home of George Storrs, Methodist minister, when in 1842 he called Charles Fitch to proclaim the Second Advent message, and here a strong association of believers had been developed. Now Elder Fitch lay in that dreamless sleep he had latterly proclaimed, waiting for the resurrection; and Elder Storrs, though on some points in harmony, was on others too estranged from his brethren to respond to the call. Samuel Snow

was edging ever farther toward the extravagant and fanatical attitude in which he perished. Joseph Bates was just then investigating the Sabbath truth, and made his pilgrimage to little Washington rather than to great Albany. Enoch Jacobs, of Cincinnati, editor of *The Day-Star*, and Joseph Marsh, of Rochester, editor of *The Voice of Truth*, waited outside the camp.

The conference was temporarily organized with William Miller presiding and Joshua V. Himes as secretary; then permanently with Elon Galusha, chairman, and Sylvester Bliss and O. R. Fassett, secretaries. In the fields there were various divergent doctrines developing, more or less related to the Second Advent; and the Albany Conference sought, with judicious spirit but careful adherence to its orthodoxy, to disown the new and as they believed unauthorized doctrines, and to maintain an evangelical position for the whole body. In this, however, though they spoke in carefully chosen terms, they were to have small measure of success. Four positions appearing among Adventists were troubling them.

First, the teaching that the prophecies required a return of the Jews to Palestine either before or after the Second Advent. This doctrine had been rejected by the Millerites from the first, for they held that the ancient prophecies on which it was based were clearly conditioned on the Jews' acceptance of the Messiah, whom in fact they rejected, and thereby forfeited the promises that to spiritual Israel now belonged the fulfillment in the gospel era and in the eternal kingdom. Now the Jewish idea was being taught by a faction, and it is still maintained, among Adventist bodies, by the small body of Age to Come Adventists.¹

Second, the doctrine of unconsciousness in death and immortality received only through Christ the Life-giver. At that time probably three fourths of Adventists believed in the conscious state of the dead, but the opposite doctrine was gaining. The Albany Conference, seeking to bind together all factions, dodged this question by a vague declaration that the righteous

dead did not receive their reward until Christ comes. The question, however, was destined in later years to divide the Adventists irrevocably, the then dominant party who believed in the conscious state of the dead disappearing altogether.

Third, what the conference darkly designated as "Jewish fables and commandments of men," by which they had evident reference to the seventh-day Sabbath. Because at this time the party later to be known as Seventh-day Adventists did not exist, even Joseph Bates having accepted the Sabbath but a week or two before, the reference was probably to the published opinions of T. M. Preble and perhaps J. B. Cook (both of whom afterward recanted and returned to the parent body), and to the agitation of the question among Adventists by the efforts of the Seventh Day Baptists, with such results as the Washington, New Hampshire, company of Sabbathkeeping Adventists.

Fourth, the question which immediately seemed most divisive, and which came to be known as the "shut-door" doctrine. This requires explanation and some extensive history.

The expression came primarily from the parable of the ten virgins. This parable is recorded in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, as a part of the discourse of the Lord Jesus upon His second coming. As He sat with His disciples on the brow of Olivet, while He told them in brief the future history of the church and the signs that should foretell the nearness of His coming, the night came down upon them. In the near distance they saw a dwelling house brilliantly lighted. It was the home of a bridegroom prepared for his coming in joyful procession with his bride. Lingerer near were a group of maidens, their torchlike lamps already lighted, waiting to join the procession when the bridegroom should come. Catching His theme from the scene before Him, Jesus told the story:

"Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were wise, and five were foolish." The wise took an extra supply of oil, but the foolish none. And as the bridegroom delayed to come, they all fell

asleep, until at midnight the cry was made, "Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him.

"Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps." But the foolish ones found their oil exhausted, and they said to their wise companions, "Give us of your oil." "Not so," replied the others; "lest there be not enough for us and you: but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves"—a desperate quest at midnight! But they went, and somehow obtained oil. Then they came back, only to find that the bridal party had passed, and were ensconced in the bridegroom's house. "And the door was shut"!

The five foolish virgins came and knocked, crying, "Lord, open to us." But he answered them, "I know you not."

Now this parable, so patently applying to the time of our Lord's coming, was taken up in the 1844 movement by the expectant Adventists. It figured in William Miller's early lectures; it appeared in their literature as early as 1840. After the spring disappointment, in the summer of 1844 it formed one of the two main features of the message. By the argument that the tenth day of the seventh Jewish month (October 22 that year) was the day of atonement and that the High Priest would come out of the most holy place on that day, the summer's campaign was known as "the seventh-month movement."

The parable of the ten virgins, not anchored to any declared date, but connected with the message of the Advent, appealed to the hearts of the waiting ones, and gave the further name to the mission of "the midnight cry." The principal difference between the Adventists and other premillennialists (who expected a Jewish or Christian millennial rule, with evil restrained but not eliminated) was the Adventist view that Christ's coming would close the door; that there would be no more opportunity for men to repent and be saved. Indeed, the Adventists anticipated that this closing of man's probation would come before the appearing of Christ; for it is written: "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be

righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still. And, behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be." ²

Himes and Litch wrote in 1840: "When the *sixth Trumpet* hath ceased to sound, the *seventh begins*, and 'in the days of the voice of the seventh angel,' when he shall BEGIN to sound, the mystery of God, or dispensation of grace, shall be finished. It would appear from this, that upon the fall of the *Turkish empire*,³ which will take place on the closing up of the 'sixth vial' and 'trumpet,' that the day of probation will close." ⁴

And Miller approved. "Yours and Bro. Litch's pieces on the closing of the door of mercy are good. . . . To say positively when the door will be shut, I cannot; for I do not know how much time may be included in the words, 'when the seventh trump begins to sound.' That the seventh trump has begun to sound I have little or no doubt; and how long *beginning* to sound may last, whether one month, six months, or a year, I cannot tell." ⁵

Immediately after the disappointment, almost all Adventists felt that, as in the parable, the door of opportunity was closed. No one would listen to them; no sinners approached them seeking salvation; no conversions were recorded. It seemed to them that their work was done; the door was shut! William Miller wrote, "We have done our work in warning sinners, and in trying to awake a formal church. God, in His providence has shut the door; we can only stir one another up to be patient; and be diligent to make our calling and election sure." ⁶

Himes, however, opposed this view. Optimistic, and more the realist than the philosopher, he was ever concerned with the business of the church; and he was loath to think now, since Christ had not come, that the business of the church was ended. The business of the church was to save sinners; and Himes, vigorously preaching still, took heart at every conversion or apparent conversion. His mind was mathematical rather than meditative. The arithmetic of the Second Advent message had strongly appealed to him, and he had been a

potent expositor of its chronology; but he was little interested in symbolic interpretations, and the imagery of the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins he had indulged rather than loved.⁷ Now that the time was past, he set his face in a direction that took him ever farther away from the positions he and all the Millerites had held before the disappointment. Never wholly abandoning his Advent hope, he nevertheless preserved his 1844 experience within a cyst of agnosticism. Now he visited Miller, and gradually worked on him, until Miller wavered in his belief, and finally lined up with Himes and his party.

Himes was the rallying point of those who not only repudiated the "shut door," but in doing so denied the validity of their seventh-month, midnight-cry movement. Josiah Litch, third in influence during the 1844 movement, and who had declared the door would be shut, now repudiated that idea, and declared that "we erred, and ran off our track" over the tarrying time and the seventh month.⁸ Litch was in time to depart so far from his previous experience as to lose all connection with Adventist believers. Joseph Marsh, the influential editor of *The Voice of Truth* (Rochester, New York), first advocated in his paper the "shut door," and then repudiated it. Sylvester Bliss, one of the younger and most cogent writers; Elon Galusha, a prominent minister and son of a Vermont governor; George Storrs, who introduced among Adventists the doctrine of the sleep of the dead and immortality only through Christ—these and many others repudiated the "shut door." There was a drive for harmony on this point, led by Himes, culminating in the Albany Conference.

Meanwhile there were some not so amenable to Himes's influence or to reason. That the door of mercy was still open, that sinners would still respond to the call of the Saviour, has been abundantly proved through two generations since; but in that dark hour the former heralds, on the defensive, were strongly inclined to think the doom of the world was fixed. It was a greater temptation to those who believed in the

accuracy of ending the 2300 days in 1844 than to those who held to the possibility of error in the reckoning and either waited in a fog of expectancy or manipulated the prophecies to eventuate in future dates. For the latter could push the conclusion of man's probation as far forward as the future coming; and this is what Himes, and after him Miller, and the whole Albany Conference, did. But if on October 22 the Lord Jesus did fulfill the prophecy by entering the most holy place of the sanctuary, to conclude His work as High Priest, it was argued, He thereby *shut the door* on His mediatorial work in the first apartment, and no more sinners could be saved.

In the teaching of this idea some men went into fantasies of fanaticism. In Maine, Joseph Turner, "a man of an active temperament, had rather a winning address, and a reputation for sanctity, . . . also possessed of strong mesmeric power,"⁹ was the chief advocate. As many Adventists in the summer of 1844 came to believe, Turner also held that the sanctuary is in heaven. At the disappointment he reasoned correctly that the prophecy had been fulfilled as to the cleansing of the sanctuary by the High Priest's entering the most holy; but this held for him unjustifiable connotations. Using the parable which had been in all their mouths, he declared the Bridegroom had come spiritually, to His house, and shut the door. The only ones saved, then, he said, were those who entered in with Christ on the twenty-second of October; all others were sinners condemned. Furthermore, he declared that being now in the seventh millennium, the antitypical Sabbath, the saints should do no work, for it was a sin to do manual labor on the Sabbath. He and those who held with him declared they were fully sanctified; they could not sin. He was very severe with all others, declaring to them that they were the foolish virgins, or else no virgins at all, and salvation for them was impossible.

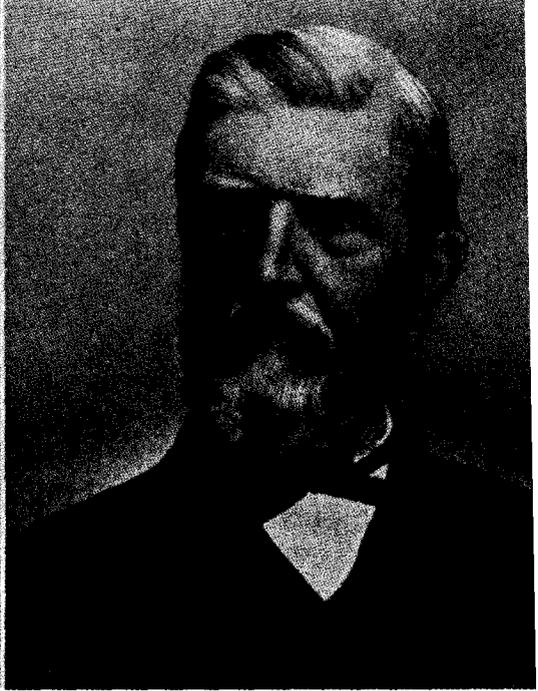
The publication which was his mouthpiece was *The Hope of Israel*, of which he and John Pearson, Jr., were editors, in Topsham, Maine. It did good work in the seventh-month movement. But in the January 23, 1845, issue Turner wrote,

"In every place I visited I found a goodly number, I think quite a majority, who were and are now believing that our work is all done for this world."¹⁰ *The Hope of Israel*, after changing its name to *The Hope Within the Veil*, with Emily C. Clemons as editor, soon perished.

Ellen Harmon met this fanaticism in Maine in the beginning of her ministry. In the winter and spring of 1845, though her frail life seemed to hang by a thread, she traveled to different places in Maine and New Hampshire, encountering on the one hand the indifference and worldliness of those Adventists who had repudiated their seventh-month experience, and on the other hand the extravagances of those who held that they were in the millennium. In Portland, Maine, her home, when she returned from New Hampshire, she found Joseph Turner at work. She and her father's family had had considerable confidence in Turner, from the 1844 experience, and they agreed with him that the Bridegroom had come and shut the door; but very soon his fantasies and his harsh, censorious spirit became disillusioning.

Robert and Eunice Harmon closed their house, which Turner and his party had made their own, and retired to their daughter's at Poland. For this, Turner told Ellen her father was a lost man. One day in vision in a meeting where Turner was present, she was shown his ungodly course, and spoke forth her message while still in vision. Turner said the young sister was under a wrong influence; what she had related concerning others was correct, but that which reproved his conduct was wrong. It would take a critical spiritual observer to detect the difference, he explained. From this time forward Turner opposed Ellen Harmon and all that she stood for.

Paris, Maine, was the center of a strong fraternity of Adventists, and there the opposing forces clashed. J. N. Andrews, who lived there, testified that, while Joseph Turner, Jesse Stevens, and others held that there was no mercy for sinners, Ellen Harmon's visions corrected those who maintained that



Samuel S. Snow and George Storrs, both prominent leaders in the epochal "seventh-month movement" in the autumn of 1844.

view. Other residents of that time testified to the same effect.¹¹

In a meeting near Poland, Maine, Joseph Turner met Ellen Harmon and attempted to mesmerize her, as he had boasted he could do. As she spoke, he sat with his hand over his face, peering between his fingers, his lips compressed, and uttering low groans. But Ellen cried to God, and was delivered, finishing her testimony triumphantly.

Turner was baffled by this public defeat, and everywhere scattered false reports. He succeeded in creating much prejudice, even among her friends and relatives; but on the other hand, his opposition made many friends for her.¹²

Turner went on to New York City, and there entered into conference with S. S. Snow, who had become pastor of the Adventist congregation worshipping in Franklin Hall. Snow gladly accepted the message that he had not been mistaken in proclaiming October 22 as the crucial day, and that the prophecy was fulfilled by the High Priest's entering on that

day the most holy. From this sound position, however, Snow went on even beyond Turner, finally proclaiming himself to be "Elijah the Prophet," "the prophet which was to come," and various other titles. He ended in wildest fanaticism and complete separation from his Adventist brethren. Turner, Snow, and other like doctrinaires, never accepted the seventh-day Sabbath, and therefore they constituted a party of "shut-door" people distinct from the seventh-day group. Their extreme doctrines the Himes party conveniently confused with the Sabbath truth, and thus thrust the charge of fanaticism upon the Sabbatarians.

Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen Harmon were at the beginning believers in the shut door, along with Miller, Turner, Snow, Marsh, Jacobs, Crosier, and nearly all other Adventists. These three maintained the doctrine longer than most, until increasing light finally caused them to abandon it. As the Sabbath truth unfolded and proved a unifying power, they became the targets for all the other Adventists. They were from 1846 to 1855 commonly designated as "The Sabbath and Shut-Door People."

Mrs. White wrote in 1874, "With my Brn. and sisters after the time passed in forty-four I did believe no more sinners would be converted. But I never had a vision" to that effect; "no one has ever heard me say or has read from my pen statements which will justify them in the charges they have made against me upon this point."¹³ It is evident in all reports of the time that her natural solicitude for others, as well as her visions, mitigated the doctrine. Thus, at Paris in 1845, she said of a young woman who Turner had declared was lost because she had not been connected with the 1844 movement, "God has never shown me that there is no salvation for such persons." A sister there had been declaring to the churches that God had rejected them because they had rejected the message from heaven; but Miss Harmon declared that "there was no truth in her message, as there were many in the churches who would yet embrace the truth."¹⁴

The most strenuous of the three in maintaining the "shut door" was Joseph Bates. Bates was a very Peter, and his ardor is apparent in the communications he sent to the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. He is quite as ready with denunciations as are his opponents writing in the *Advent Herald* (formerly *Signs of the Times*), *The Morning Watch* (formerly *The Midnight Cry*), the *Advent Harbinger* (formerly *The Voice of Truth*), etc. The opponents of the "shut door" are in his view "the foolish virgins," "the Laodiceans," etc. Indeed, the seventh-day people in that time very generally and complacently assumed that the Adventists from whom they had separated comprised the Laodicean church of Revelation 3:14-22, which said, "I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing," but which the true witness declared, "Knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." It came as a very salutary shock when in 1856 Mrs. White began writing that the Laodicean message applied to Seventh-day Adventists, and James White followed the same line in the *Review and Herald*. Reports from all over the field witnessed to the surprise, but yet to the humble acceptance of that word. The two positions, of course, are not incompatible; for wherever the condition of a professed church of God fits the description of the Laodiceans, it suggests identification, and the first-day Adventists of the '50's qualified for the role; yet it is a much healthier attitude to apply a rebuke to oneself than to one's neighbor.

Bates and White and their adherents, however, gave progressive definitions to the "shut door." At first they held that it was the figurative door between the two apartments of the sanctuary, through which Christ had passed and which He had shut, closing out all sinners. They soon modified this by explaining that the "door" was not the "door of mercy," but the "door of access." That is, they held that the impenitence and unbelief of the world made it impossible to minister the gospel to it; therefore, the "door of access" was closed. And this seemed supported by the indifference and contempt with

which the world treated them. Therefore, they went only to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel"—the Adventist believers. Nevertheless, because it had shut the "door of access," the "door of mercy" was shut to the evil world; yet it was still open to those who had not rejected God's message. As to who these were, they had narrow views at first, but developing circumstances educated them.

They were very few in number—a dozen, a score, a hundred, a thousand. Yet the Scriptures revealed that 144,000 would be sealed to God out of the last generation.¹⁵ There must be a field, therefore, for conversions. And convictions and conversions began, not always among those they at first considered eligible. Some of the "Laodiceans," their former Adventist brethren who at first opposed them, were convinced of their possession of truth and came over; certainly the door of mercy was open to them. Then they encountered persons who had not definitely heard or made a decision about the 1844 message; was the door shut against them? No, they decided; these must be an exception. Then in a few years those who had been small children in 1844 came to the point of conversion; were they locked out? No, again they decided; these must be admitted. All these, and more unknown to them, they concluded must have been borne into the most holy on the breastplate of the High Priest (on which, in the type, the names of the Israelite tribes were emblazoned). At last they recalled that in the typical sanctuary service the high priest was the mediator for his people on the day of atonement as well as on the other days of the year; therefore, they concluded, Jesus, our High Priest, though He had entered the most holy, was still mediating for all who believed in Him. He had closed the door of the holy place, but He had opened a door into the most holy.¹⁶ Therefore, the door of mercy was still wide open. The Saviour still was crying, "Come unto me."

It was the early '50's before the "shut door" theory faded out entirely. By that time the Sabbath and Advent message was making more headway among the general public than in

the ranks of former fellow Adventists, and the "shut door" of mercy was a thing of the past.

To this end the messages of God to Mrs. White, and through her to the church, vastly contributed. The views of the "little flock" that gathered tremulously together in 1846-50 were limited. They expected the Lord to come at almost any moment; they thought their mission was only to the Second Advent believers; they could not envisage the times of God or the tremendous world mission to which they were unwittingly committed. Ellen White was not, in herself, wiser than her brethren; she went with them. But the visions that she saw and the messages she received were continually widening the horizon, calling for advance, broadening the field, shooting the searchlight of revelation upon a future too great to be compassed within the circle of their clannish arms. And wondering, incredulous, stumbling indeed, but faithful to the Word, they went forward, abandoning what was error in their faith, receiving more and more the light of truth, until they became a globe-circling power in the Holy Spirit.

By the illumination of the Spirit they set their feet firmly on the validity of the time message of 1844; they took and held the only tenable solution of the Disappointment, in the sanctuary truth; and from that firm foundation they have moved forward to outstrip the other Adventist bodies. "They had a bright light set up behind them at the beginning of the path, which an angel told me was the midnight cry," testified Ellen Harmon out of her first vision.¹⁷ There was no such bright light for the Adventists who rejected the sanctuary truth; for to their minds the midnight cry was an error and a folly, and the only explanation was a mistake in procedure or a mistake in reckoning; and they either abandoned the position altogether or kindled the sparks of new and false predictions. "Different times were set for the Lord to come, and were urged upon the brethren. But the Lord showed me that they would pass by, . . . and that every time a date was set, and passed, it would weaken the faith of God's people."¹⁸

The Albany Conference sought to bind the Adventist people together, but there was no binding cord. The main body, which adhered to Miller and Himes, after experiencing some defections, took the name of "The American Millennial Association" in 1858, but soon changed to "Evangelical Adventists." They were distinguished from the other Adventists by adhering to the doctrines of consciousness in death and an eternally burning hell. They steadily declined in numbers and influence. Himes deserted them in 1864. They received practically no accessions, and as the original membership died off, they became fewer and fewer, until at the time of the United States Census of Religious Bodies in 1916, they were reported extinct.

One of the early separations was under the leadership of George Storrs. Before the Disappointment he had established in New York City a Second Advent paper called *The Bible Examiner*. In 1848 his associate editor, John T. Walsh, going beyond Storrs' advocacy of the annihilation of the wicked, began to teach that the wicked dead would never be raised, but that their first death was their last; also that the millennium is in the past. Storrs at first refused to go along, but after a few months acceded to the doctrine, and then became its chief advocate. Considerable debate arose between his party and the main body of Adventists; and at last, in 1863, he with his adherents drew off and formed "The Life and Advent Union," which exists today as the smallest of the Adventist bodies.

But the chief secession came in 1852-60. Jonathan Cummings, a worker in the 1844 ministry, in 1852 claimed to have new light on the chronology of Daniel's prophecies, and preached that the date of Christ's coming would be in the fall of 1853 or the spring of 1854. He gained a very considerable following among Adventists, his adherents also holding or accepting the doctrine of the unconscious state of the dead. They started a paper, *The World's Crisis*, to give free utterance to their views. When the appointed time passed, Cummings' disappointed followers were invited back into the main body,

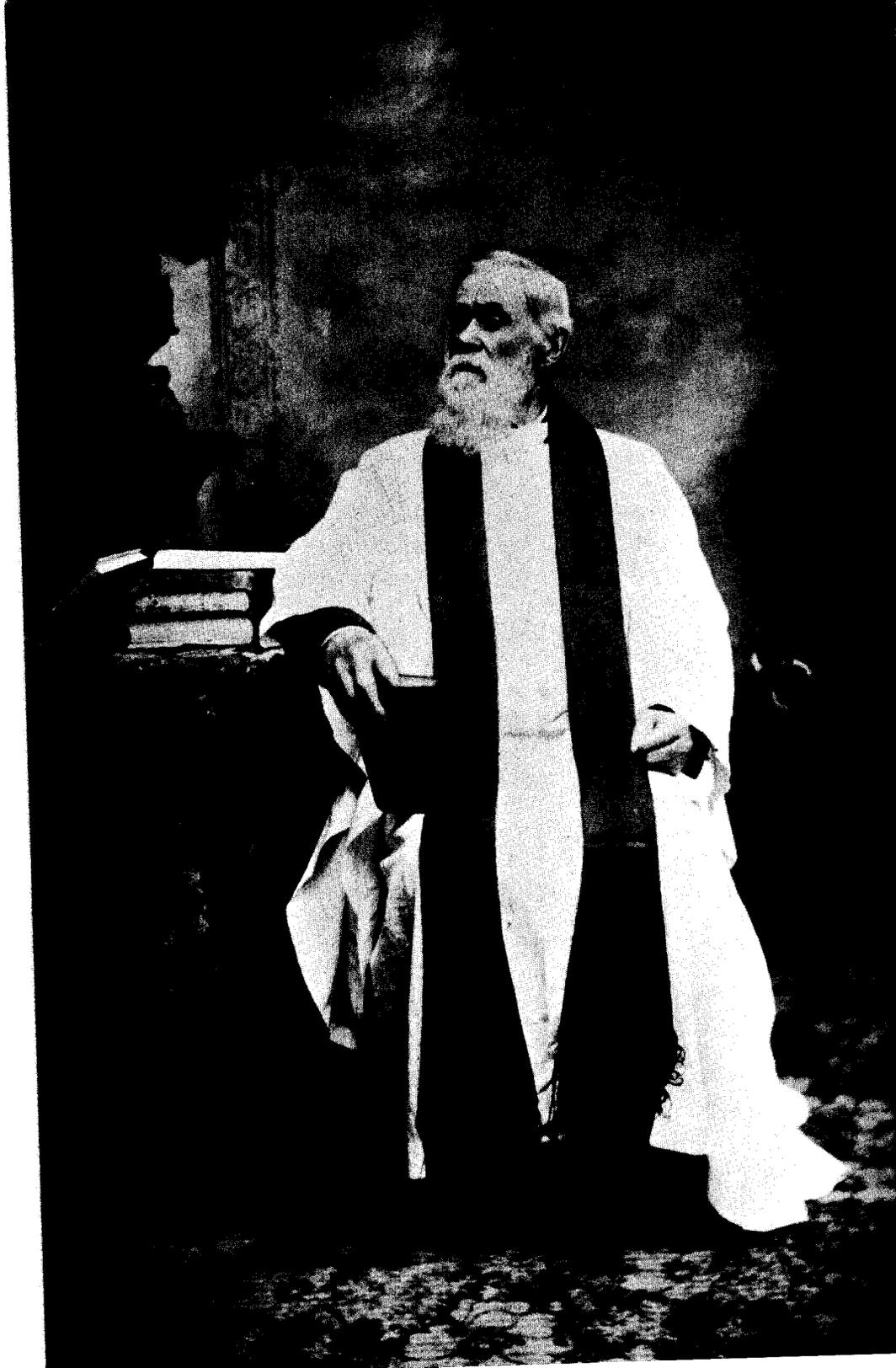
but their difference with the Evangelical Adventists on the question of immortality seemed to them sufficient to forbid an organic union; and after several years, in 1861, they formed the Advent Christian Church. As time went on, this came to be the predominant Adventist body of Sundaykeepers, accessions coming to them from both the Evangelical Adventists and the non-Adventist world.

Various prominent ministers of the original body also joined the Advent Christians, and they have produced the chief proponents of the Second Advent among the first-day people. The Advent Christian Church is today the largest and the only institutionalized Adventist church aside from the Seventh-day Adventist.¹⁹

Of the other Adventist bodies, one is the product of the so-called Age to Come teaching; one is an offshoot from the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, being rejectors of the gift of the Spirit of prophecy to Ellen G. White; and one, the Primitive Advent Christian Church, is a secession from the Advent Christian Church.²⁰

It is of interest, though somewhat melancholy interest, to trace to the end the career of Joshua V. Himes, the second most prominent Adventist in 1844. He was a man greatly used of God in the 1844 movement, and none can doubt his sincerity, his effectiveness as a preacher and editor, and his ability and energy in management. After the disappointment and after the death of William Miller, he was recognized for a decade as the leader of the first-day Adventist forces, though with diminishing prestige. As the head of the Evangelical Adventists, however, he saw a steady decline in his following; and in 1864, sincerely convinced, after study on the question of immortality, he answered the invitation of the Western Advent Christian Church, and joined their ranks in the lake states.

He had been publishing a paper, *The Voice of the Prophets*, in Boston, but on joining the Advent Christians he transferred it, at the invitation of a local church, to the little town



of Buchanan, Michigan, renaming it, *The Voice of the West and Second Advent Pioneer*,²¹ in February, 1864. In the July 30 issue he tells of attending a Seventh-day Adventist meeting at Lapeer, an exhortation and testimony meeting, of which he says: "It was good to be there. I enjoyed it much, and could but ask God's blessing upon them. . . . The Seventh-day Adventists have treated me with kindness, and in my severe trials in times past have not, like some, stood in the cross-ways to help on the affliction, but gave me their kindly Christian sympathy. They have among their number many who are the fruit of my labor. . . . And if our Seventh-day Adventist brethren are more industrious, and . . . turn our members over to their side, it is their right to enjoy the results of their labors. . . . We do not intend to turn aside to 'vain wrangling' or controversial questions, or bitter strife with brethren who look with us for the coming of the Lord." If in his editorial future he was not wholly able to live up to this resolution, because of the pressure of his associates, yet he came far nearer to it than most of them.²²

Though he labored among the Advent Christians for about a dozen years, in 1875 he became estranged over some delinquencies he perceived in their membership and management, and left them. He removed farther West, and joined the Episcopalians, taking orders in that church in 1878. He kept a lively memory of his labors in the Advent cause, however, and made a notable contribution to *The Outlook* in 1894, during a running discussion in that magazine about "ascension robes" in 1844.²³ He was then, in his ninety-first year, rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church at Elk Point, South Dakota. The next year he went to the Battle Creek Sanitarium, the main health institution of the Seventh-day Adventists, for treatment of a malignancy. While there he spoke a number of times, and also attended and spoke at their camp meeting at Hastings, Michigan.

Upon the youth of that day who sat in the tabernacle at Battle Creek, and listened to the old pioneer recounting the

Joshua V. Himes, prime organizer of the Millerite movement, helped initiate the publishing work. He became an Episcopalian. His last days were spent in the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

events of a half century before, connected with the beginning of the sacred cause, the sight of his patriarchal figure, with his hoary head and his long white beard, made an ineffaceable impression. His cordial relations with the Seventh-day Adventist body, which in the beginning he had with others opposed, but which he now witnessed as an instrument in God's hand in finishing the work he had begun, were a happy conclusion to his life. His malady proving incurable, he departed this life on July 27, 1895, and is buried at Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

¹ Officially known as "Churches of God in Christ Jesus," or "Church of God (Oregon, Ill.)."

² Revelation 22:11, 12.

³ In accordance with Litch's prediction in 1838, on the basis of the prophecy of the sixth trumpet in Revelation 9:13-21, the Ottoman or Turkish Government fell on the eleventh day of August, 1840. See J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 128-132; Uriah Smith, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation*, pp. 505-517.

⁴ *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 1, 1840.

⁵ William Miller letter to Himes in *Signs of the Times*, Sept. 1, 1840, p. 87.

⁶ *The Advent Herald*, Dec. 11, 1844, p. 142.

⁷ Himes founded, in New York City, in 1842, the Second Advent paper called *The Midnight Cry*, which derived its name from the parable; but this was before the time when Snow and others laid such stress on the parable, and Himes entered into that movement tardily and reluctantly.

⁸ *The Morning Watch*, April 24, 1845.

⁹ Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message*, p. 398. After he had run his course in fanaticism, Turner finally repented, or at least changed front, and returned to the first-day Adventists. "He was an original thinker and ready writer, and produced many good things in a clear form, with some grievous errors, dressed in an ingenious style, making them look more like truth than any other writer, we ever knew, was capable of doing."—*Ibid.*, p. 585.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 340, 398.

¹¹ Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223.

¹² James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 224-229.

¹³ Ellen G. White letter to J. N. Loughborough, Aug. 24, 1874.

¹⁴ Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223.

¹⁵ Revelation 7:1-8.

¹⁶ Revelation 3:7, 8.

¹⁷ Ellen G. White, *Early Writings*, p. 14.

¹⁸ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 89.

¹⁹ Wellcome, *op. cit.*, pp. 594-613; Albert C. Johnson, *Advent Christian History*, pp. 172 ff. The Advent Christian Church operates a publishing house and two educational institutions.

²⁰ See Appendix.

²¹ The name was later changed to *The Advent Christian Times*, and in 1872 the office was removed to Chicago.

²² *Review and Herald*, Aug. 9, 1864, p. 84.

²³ F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 410, 411.

THREE ANGELS' MESSAGES

THREE angels flying in the midst of heaven! A prophet of the first century, exile on lonely Patmos, saw them; the attention of men in the last century, on the continent of America, was called to them—three angels carrying the messages of God in the last days of earth.

Beginning a new chain of prophetic events, John writes, "I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to Him; for the hour of His judgment is come: and worship Him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters."¹

This is the first of three; for "there followed another angel," and "the third angel followed them."² Behold the first angel afar, gleaming like the seraphic star of Bethlehem; nearer, nearer, growing in intensity of brilliance like one of those comet visitors from the distant heavens; closer, closer, until he fills the vision of the prophet with the brightness of the sun.

But suddenly there is with him another angel, and what was light becomes effulgence. And the chant of the second angel mingles in diatonic harmony with the melody of the first: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication."

Yet another! "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, . . . the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God." The diapason of the third angel completes the chord; the threefold message thunders; and the world is called to the judgment.

What means this vision? None was there to tell in the day that it was given. For so it often was with the prophets, who "enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace



that should come unto you,"³ "that they without us should not be made perfect."⁴ "Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." "But blessed are your eyes, for they see: and your ears, for they hear."⁵

A clue was given to Patmos's favored seer; for after he had seen and heard these three angels, immediately says he, "I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle. . . . And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped."⁶ It was in the time of the close of earth's history that the three angels should sound their message.

How closely John scrutinized this prophecy we may not know. Many were the symbols, and the signs, and the times, and the periods, and the series of prophetic events which crowded his panorama. The fulfillment was not for his time; he was the agent of revelation; its benefits were to be reaped by a later generation. And well it may have been said to him, as it was said to his compatriot Daniel six centuries before, "Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end." "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," and "the wise shall understand."⁷

In the time of the end the purport of the first angel's message began to be understood. To the men of 1844 those words in the fourteenth of Revelation pealed like a bell in the court of God: "For the hour of his judgment is come!" They took cognizance of the message of the first angel, for in his words they sent their warning message to the world: "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come!" They called attention to these sixth and seventh verses of Revelation 14, and declared that the message of this angel flying in the midst of heaven was the message that was sounding around the earth. "It is the hour of God's judgment," they cried; "the angel of God declares it: The judgment is come!"

They saw no more. The splendor of the first angel filled their eyes; they but partially perceived a second angel following, and never a third. They had not gone so far. Sufficient it was to them that a mighty angel from the courts of God had come down to fill the earth with the glory of his message: "The hour of his judgment is come!"

The climax of that message came on October 22, 1844. "I beheld," says Daniel, "till thrones were placed,⁹ and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened."⁹

The books of God were opened in heaven in the most holy place of His sanctuary, and the investigative judgment set. There was the record of the cases of men since Adam's day, and through the judgment of their lives would the final verdict be reached and the sanctuary be cleansed.¹⁰

But to many, to most, of the disappointed Adventists at the point where the judgment, veiled to their understanding, began, the glory of the first angel's message faded and disappeared. They rejected the sanctuary truth with its explanation of the event, and all prophecy became to them disjointed; they knew not where they were, nor whether God had led them, nor whether any prophecy was fulfilled. They said the midnight cry was a mistake, that the time predicted was wrong. They turned their backs on the message of the first angel: "The hour of his judgment is come." They said it had almost come; it would soon come; and they set up future dates as forlorn as the Messianic hopes of the Jews after their rejection of Christ at His First Advent.

There had come in the last months of their expectation the advent of the second angel, crying, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen!" This message of the second angel is closely related to

the message of the first angel. *Babylon*, "confusion," is the name the Revelator applies to an apostate church, a church which, accepting error in place of truth, progressively retrogrades and finally becomes "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird."¹¹ The time of God's judgment is come; and Babylon, as well as Jerusalem, is at the bar.

Babylon is not, in the beginning, wholly reprobate; it is confused. And in its confusion it departs in every direction from the truth, until it can no longer endure men of true spirit. The message, "Fear God, and give glory to him," once heard in Babylon and in part received, becomes repugnant; Babylon turns on the messengers; it delivers them to the lions. "Babylon is fallen," cries the second angel; and a little later a voice from heaven proclaims, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."¹²

That message was heard in the last of the Millerite campaign. The churches of America were not Babylon in the beginning; they were the opponents of Babylon. They fled from the Old World to escape from Babylon, and in the New World they proclaimed truth, looking forward to the saints' deliverance at the Second Advent. But postmillenarianism did its subtle work: "My Lord delayeth his coming." Worldliness gained ground; reforms which had begun were repudiated; and confusion of doctrine and life came in. William Miller's message was at first received with gladness by many of the churches; but by 1843 and 1844 most of them officially condemned the Advent message, and turned the face of scorn to the believers.

Then was heard the call: "Come out of her, my people." First of all the heralds, Charles Fitch wrote in 1843, "If you are the true ministers of Christ, *come out of Babylon*, and no longer be opposed to the coming of Christ. . . . Come out of Babylon or perish. If you are a Christian, stand for Christ, and hold out unto the end. . . . Not one that is ever saved can remain in Babylon."¹³

A Word to the "Little Flock."

The following articles were written for the DAW-DAWN, which has been published at Canandaigua, New York, by O. R. L. Crosier. But as that paper is not now published, and as we do not know as it will be published again, it is thought best by some of us in Maine, to have them given in this form. I wish to call the attention of the "little flock" to those things which will very soon take place on this earth.

After our Savior had spoken of "distress of nations, with perplexity," he said, "And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads: for your redemption draweth nigh."—Luke 21: 28.

We do not rejoice to know that our fellow men are distressed, and famishing for want of food: but, still, the true believer will look up, and rejoice, in view of redemption, while this sure token of the coming of the Son of Man is beginning to come to pass. When we look abroad to other nations, and see them looking to this country for food: and then look at the scarcity, and rising price of food in our own nation, we cannot doubt but that the "time of trouble such as never was," is fast coming upon the nations of the earth.

BRUNSWICK, Maine, May 30, 1847.

JAMES WHITE

THE SEVEN LAST PLAGUES.

"And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvelous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God."—Rev. 15: 1.

For more than one year, it has been my settled faith, that the seven last plagues were all in the future, and that they were all to be poured out before the first resurrection.

It may not be my duty to attempt to point out each plague separately, but only give some of my reasons for believing that they are yet to be poured out, prior to the second advent. By the light of the brightly shining lamp, (the bible) we can see the events of our past experience distinctly; while future events may not be seen in their order so clearly.

If it be true that the plagues are yet to be poured out upon the earth before the resurrection and change of the saints, has not the time fully come for us to see the light in relation to them, that we may better see, and feel the force of Christ's words? Watch ye, therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man. Luke 21: 36.

From the last clause of Rev. 15: 1, "for in them is filled up the wrath of God," it seems clear that all the wrath of God to be poured out on the living wicked, is contained in the plagues. The vails of wrath will certainly be poured out, in the day of the wrath of God, and of the Lamb.

Jesus is clearly represented in the bible, in his different characters, offices, and works. At the crucifixion he was the meek, slain lamb.

Said Himes: "Though we may not be all agreed as to what constitutes Babylon, we are agreed in the instant and final separation from all who oppose the doctrine of the coming and kingdom of God at hand. . . . We therefore now say to all who are in any way entangled in the yoke of bondage, 'Come out from among them, and be ye separate.'" ¹⁴

There was a very general separation of Advent believers from their mother churches, especially in the summer of 1844, and by the time of the disappointment they were so thoroughly estranged that, except they should repudiate their Advent experience, there was no returning.

In May, 1847, two years and six months after the disappointment, there was issued the pamphlet *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* in which are messages from James White, Ellen G. White, and Joseph Bates. This is the first combined effort of this group to set forth their views in print. In the main, the pamphlet is the work of young James White, in which he presents the conclusions concerning unfulfilled prophecy at which he had so far arrived. In it we find the first published reference to the third angel's message, in his "Thoughts on Revelation 14." ¹⁵ He says:

"All classes of second advent believers agree, that the angel brought to view in the 6th, and 7th verses of this chapter represents the advent message, to the church and world. . . . The third angel's message was, and still is, a WARNING to the saints. . . . It is plain that we live in the time of the third angel's message."

From that time "third angel's message" became an idiom with the Sabbathkeeping Adventists to express their cause, an expression which has endured to the present time, though its early exclusiveness has been modified. James White's early concept was that each of the three angels' messages was dated, one ceasing when the next began. Thus he wrote in 1850 that it was "evident that the burden of the first angel's message was delivered, and that it closed up for the world more than six years since." ¹⁶ So likewise was the second message closed,

and it followed that the present movement, in which he was a prime leader, was exclusively the third angel's message; and the aura of that idea still lingers. But a little further study of the contents of each message, and a constantly deepening perception of the meaning of each, revealed that the first and the second angel's tidings were continuing messages, and they are no less pertinent today than in the beginning; they run concurrently. And thus this full gospel is more exactly expressed as "the three angels' messages" or "the threefold message."

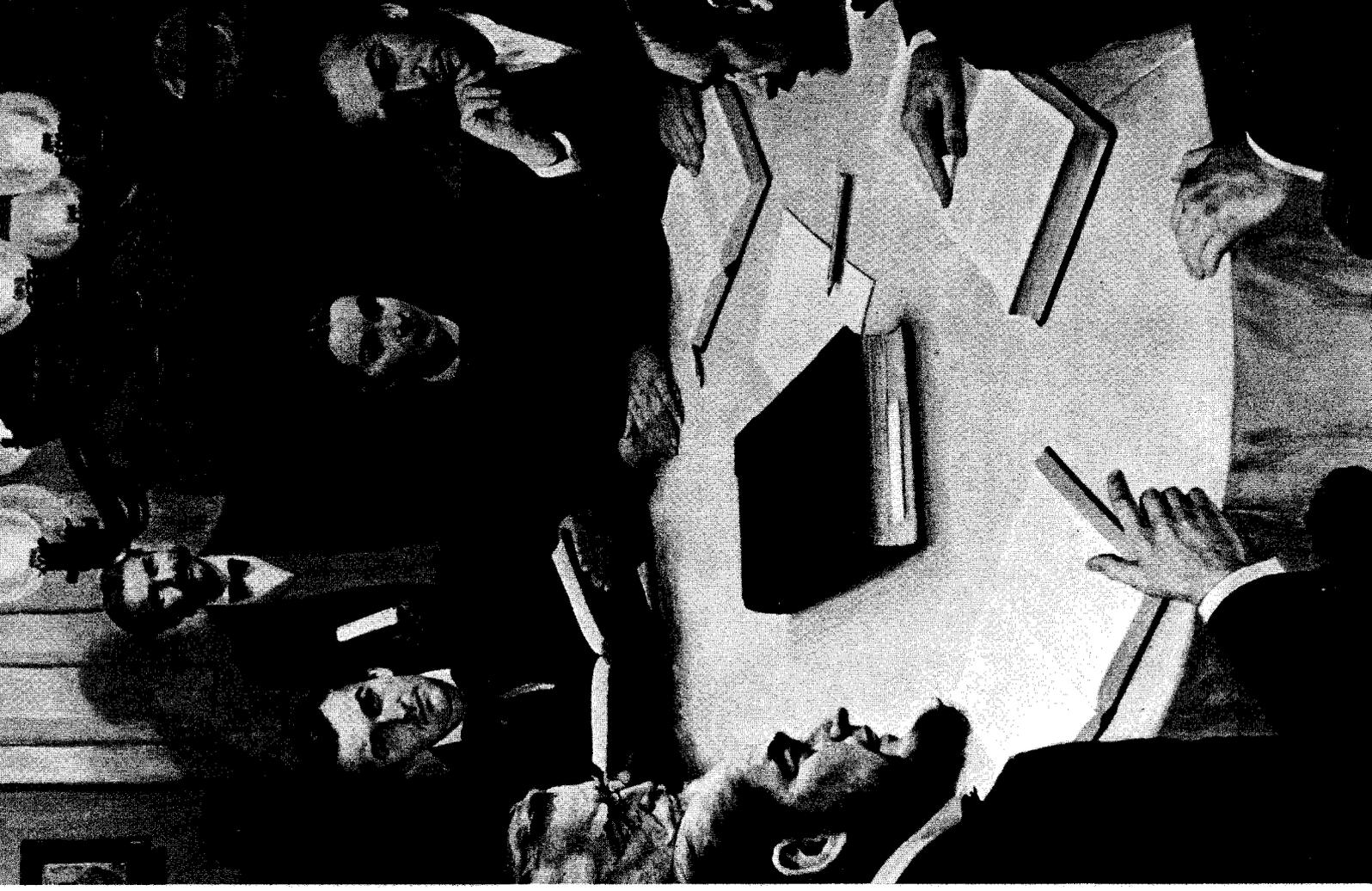
The reaction of the general Adventist world to this theology, wherein they saw a group, or party, or faction, claiming to have discovered the true connection between the pre-44 and the post-44 Second Advent causes, and to be the carriers of the forward movement, was antagonistic and sometimes bitter. That reaction was natural, and is understandable, human nature being what it is. Should the main body of Adventists, captained by the remnant of its recognized and tried leaders—Himes, Litch, Bliss, Hale, Galusha, Whiting—yield the reins to an upstart young preacher and a girl who claimed she had visions? Joseph Bates was more highly respected, indeed, because he had been one of the prominent leaders in the '44 movement; but he was lamented as an apostate, like Snow and Storrs, and he was more heretical than they, because he advocated the seventh-day Sabbath and believed in the visions of Ellen Harmon White.

The leaders felt the responsibility of leadership; it was unfortunate that in the urgency of their plunge through the darkness they had neither leisure nor patience to find the light. Their line seemed the more sure to them because some men like Preble, Cook, and Crosier, who had started out on the Sabbath and the sanctuary paths, had come back saying they were false trails. If it were not for the stubbornness of that trio, Bates, James White, and Ellen White, the Adventist cause might yet be bound in unity. This was their argument and this their grievance, though in very truth there was not harmony in the ranks of those who rejected the Sabbath and the sanctuary.

The *Advent Herald* represented Himes and Bliss; the *Bible Examiner*, Storrs; the *Advent Harbinger*, Joseph Marsh; while Crosier's *Day Dawn* and Jacob's *Day-Star* bore further to the left; and Cook and Picand's *Voice of the Fourth Angel* was too airily transcendental. Every one of them differed from the others, uniting only in opposition to the Sabbath; and all of them were soon to perish, with only a newcomer, the *World's Crisis*, to glean the handfuls let drop.

But the sanity and the insight of the Sabbath-and-sanctuary group were steadily to become more manifest, as their doctrine rounded out into the ultimate fullness of the gospel; and the acid test of time has witnessed to the vitality of their message, spreading and expanding into every country on the face of the globe, carrying the banner of the Sabbath, and by voice and pen and the ministry of sacrificial service preparing the way for the kingdom of Christ.

Not hastily, and not slightly, was the structure built. Much later Mrs. White wrote: "Many of our people do not realize how firmly the foundation of our faith has been laid. My husband, Elder Joseph Bates, Father Pierce, Elder Edson, and others who were keen, noble, and true, were among those who, after the passing of the time in 1844, searched for the truth as for hidden treasure. I met with them, and we studied and prayed earnestly. Often we remained together until late at night, and sometimes through the entire night, praying for light and studying the word. Again and again these brethren came together to study the Bible, in order that they might know its meaning, and be prepared to teach it with power. When they came to the point in their study where they said, 'We can do nothing more,' the Spirit of the Lord would come upon me, I would be taken off in vision, and a clear explanation of the passages we had been studying would be given me, with instruction as to how we were to labor and teach effectively. Thus light was given that helped us to understand the scriptures in regard to Christ, His mission, and His priesthood. A line of truth extending from that time to the time when we



shall enter the city of God, was made plain to me, and I gave to others the instruction that the Lord had given me." 17

The third angel's message required special study, for it contained references which must be explained. It begins, "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark." What is the beast? What is his image? What is his mark? The answers to these questions opened a whole chapter in prophetic interpretation, a chapter which had not been touched by the pioneers in the Second Advent message, and which now must be investigated.

"The beast" is evidently that beast just presented in the first of the preceding chapter, Revelation 13, "having seven heads and ten horns." That beast, by common consent of Protestant interpreters, represents the Papacy. But in the eleventh verse appears another symbol, a "beast coming up out of the earth," having "two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon." This beast demands that men "make an image to the beast" just preceding, and "receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads," to brand them as the worshipers of the beast.

The "image to the beast" would be a politico-ecclesiastical organization fashioned after the polity of "the beast." The "mark of the beast" is set in contrast to the "seal of God" in Revelation 7:3, 4, with which the servants of God in the last days shall be sealed. This seal, the sign of God's authority and government, is declared in Ezekiel 20:12 to be God's Sabbath. The opposite of that, the sign of authority and government of the dragon-controlled power, "the mark of the beast," must be a false Sabbath.

The beast with two horns like a lamb, mild and benevolent, yet which finally speaks with the voice of a dragon, came, in the interpretation of Seventh-day Adventists, to represent the United States of America. Unpopular as this interpretation must be in a land and of a Government which we all love, and denouncing as it does the final chapter in the history of that land and Government, the conclusion was reached through

faultless exegesis, and it comports with the state of the world in the end of time, as evidenced in this and other prophecies, and now in facts and events taking place before our eyes.

A corollary of this interpretation is a love of freedom which led the people who declared it to a vigorous championship of both civil and religious liberty in the legislation and administration of nation and State. Recognizably this is a delaying action, yet equally an educational campaign in which they who hear and heed may find the way to the liberty which is in Christ. Hence, Seventh-day Adventist history has been stayed with the bands of liberty guaranteed by our constitutional law; and foremost in the ranks of the upholders of American ideals, the heritage of our colonial and Revolutionary forebears, has been this people called to be standard-bearers of gospel freedom.

But the truth of God is ever unfolding, ever revealing new facets, new depths; and the education of those who follow that truth is progressive. The three angels' messages are no exception to this universal rule in the revelations of God. Since the days of our pioneers, who at first perceived only the girders of this body of truth, the meaning and the spiritual content of the three angels' messages have been made more and more apparent; and the end of their wealth of knowledge and inspiration has not yet been reached. Let us explore, presenting some discoveries, yet conscious of the fact that there are more beyond us.

The first angel's message does not stop with the proclamation of the judgment hour. It proceeds, "And worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." When the teaching of the evolutionary theory began its inroads in the last part of the nineteenth century, Seventh-day Adventists came to perceive in this message a bulwark against its insidious infidelity. Evolution, with all its varied degrees of atheistic teaching, ranges from denial of a God who is Creator to denial that He created in the manner He declares He created. "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth,

the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.”¹⁸ The first angel calls us to worship this Creator, and in the worship to “remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.”

More than this, the call to worship in the first angel's message demands a deeper knowledge of the works of the Creator, for none can worship whom they do not know, and by His works is God known.¹⁹ To this study and intelligent worship we and all God's people are called beyond any degree we have yet attained. Our study of nature is to be inspired and illumined with the science of the love of God which made all these things. “Upon all created things is seen the impress of the Deity. Nature testifies of God. . . . From Him all life proceeds. Only in harmony with Him can be found its [the soul's] true sphere of action. . . . To him who learns thus to interpret its teachings, all nature becomes illuminated; the world is a lesson-book, life a school. . . . These are lessons that our children need to learn. To the little child, not yet capable of learning from the printed page or of being introduced to the routine of the schoolroom, nature presents an unfailing source of instruction and delight. The heart not yet hardened by contact with evil is quick to recognize the Presence that pervades all created things. The ear as yet undulled by the world's clamor is attentive to the Voice that speaks through nature's utterances. And for those of older years, needing continually its silent reminders of the spiritual and eternal, nature's teaching will be no less a source of pleasure and of instruction. As the dwellers in Eden learned from nature's pages, as Moses discerned God's handwriting on the Arabian plains and mountains, and the Child Jesus on the hillsides of Nazareth, so the children of to-day may learn of Him. The unseen is illustrated by the seen. On everything upon the earth, from the loftiest tree of the forest to the lichen that clings to the rock, from the boundless ocean to the tiniest shell on the shore, they may behold the image and superscription of God.”²⁰ All this is implicit in the first angel's message.

The second angel's message of Revelation 14:8, connecting with the message in Revelation 18:1-4, is more than a call to come out from recreant church organizations. Babylon is confusion, a mingling of truth and error, and consequently a leaning ever to evil. The call to come out of Babylon is not merely a convocation call but an individual call. God deals not alone with churches but with men. The second angel's message is a call to God's people to separate themselves from evil that inheres in their natures, as well as from evil that is associated with ecclesiastical bodies which have rejected truth. It must be recognized that in Babylonish churches whose leaders and spokesmen have accepted errors of paganism, errors of popery, errors of atheistic evolution, there are yet individuals who by their connection with God have their lives cleansed from error. There have been and there are men of God in every church, Protestant and Catholic, who have consecrated themselves to the service of God, and have been great instruments in His hand in advancing truth and saving souls. To the extent that error still inheres in them, they are called out. But also in those who have accepted this institutional purge yet in whose personal lives there remain any dregs of disharmony with God, physical, mental, or spiritual, any taint of Babylon, the second angel and his supporting herald challenge, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins."

The third angel's message is not only a demand to resist the beast and his image and to refuse his mark of a false Sabbath, lest the fearful punishment of God fall; it is a challenge to an understanding of the true inwardness of the Sabbath truth, which is God's seal, and of the opposite course of life, which leads to the receiving of the mark of the beast. To receive the seal of God demands a life in harmony with God; to receive the mark of the beast requires a character like that of the beast. No child of God, of whatever persuasion or communion, will or can receive the mark of the beast. But willful disobedience to the known law of God debases the man. If he follows a course of disobedience in body, mind, or soul, he becomes

more and more like the originator of sin, and upon his mind and in his practice he will receive the mark that stamps him a child of the devil. And this, no matter what his profession or church affiliation.

Finally the world will be arrayed under two opposing banners: under one, the true Sabbath, the sign of Christ's government, will be marshaled the company of commandment keepers who by the grace of Christ have no guile in their lives. Under the other, the false Sabbath, will be arrayed those whose habitual disobedience has subjected them to the authority of God's enemy. The nature of their lives will compel this division. But let none think that by assuming the insigne of heaven over a heart of corruption, he ensures himself with God; nor let him charge that a loyal servant of Christ, as yet unwitting of the flag of disloyalty floating above his head, is condemned of God. God is no respecter of persons. He knows the thoughts and intents of the heart. He judges righteously. And in the end He will decide: "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still," and, "he that is holy, let him be holy still. And, behold, I come quickly."

John saw three angels flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth. Symbolism, without doubt, of the message delivered on earth. For angels do not often appear to earth's inhabitants in their celestial form; men are the agents of salvation to men. It was men that Jesus commissioned, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." And men it is who gave and are giving on earth the three angels' messages.

Yet who will not say that the three angels envisaged by John are not merely symbols but the actual commanding generals in this last campaign of the wars of God? For the angels of God are "all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation."²¹ And in the end of the world "the Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity." "The reapers are the angels."²²

Organization and executive means and abundant reserves are in the plan of Heaven, far beyond men's thoughts.

We in this last age of marvels, who have caught the hushed voices of the ether in the meshes of our radio and magnified them into thunder, who direct the missiles of war or the messengers of peace through space with lightning flash and lightning control, who with the wonders of a scientific age have shut the mouths of our fathers' false prophets, can our imaginations not expand to perceive Heaven's strategy and purveyance and see the officers of God's army directing maneuvers in the midst of heaven? Far above and beyond the planning of men and their activities in the work of God on earth, the angels, messengers, and agents of the Supreme Commander, are busied with His orders or helping to frame His campaign or succoring and directing the human legions of Christ.

And though now we do not know their names or see their forms, lest we, like John, should fall to worship at their feet;²³ yet in the days that are to come, in the infinite years of eternal life, shall we not know them and live over again with them the campaigns of the last days of time?

¹ Revelation 14:6, 7.

² Verses 8, 9.

³ 1 Peter 1:10.

⁴ Hebrews 11:40.

⁵ Matthew 13:17, 16.

⁶ Revelation 14:14, 16.

⁷ Daniel 12:9, 4, 10.

⁸ Revised Version.

⁹ Daniel 7:9, 10.

¹⁰ See Appendix.

¹¹ Revelation 18:2.

¹² Verse 4.

¹³ *The Midnight Cry*, Sept. 21, 1843.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1844.

¹⁵ *A Word to the "Little Flock,"* pp. 10, 11.

¹⁶ *Review and Herald*, December, 1850.

¹⁷ Ellen G. White, *Special Testimonies*, series B., no. 2, pp. 56, 57.

¹⁸ Exodus 20:11.

¹⁹ Romans 1:20.

²⁰ Ellen G. White, *Education*, pp. 99, 100.

²¹ Hebrews 1:14.

²² Matthew 13:41, 39.

²³ Revelation 22:8, 9.

EARLY PUBLISHING VENTURES

OTIS Nichols and his wife, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, who had entertained and helped young Ellen Harmon in the beginning of her ministry, still showed their loyalty and friendship. James White and Ellen Harmon were married in August, 1846, accepted the Sabbath truth in the fall, and labored together in Maine during the next few weeks. But after the meeting at Topsham, related in chapter 9, and upon their return to Gorham to Mrs. White's parents, she was taken very ill. For three weeks she suffered agonizingly, frequently fainting into deathlike coma, and being revived only through the prayers of her husband and the family. The Nichols, hearing of her affliction, sent their son Henry to visit her, bringing things for her comfort.

When Henry Nichols came, another season of prayer was arranged for Ellen's benefit. After others had prayed, young Henry began fervently to plead for the recovery of the sick. With the power of God resting upon him, he rose from his knees, went across the room, and laid his hands upon the sufferer's head, saying, "Sister Ellen, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole," and fell back prostrated by the power of the Spirit he had invoked.

Like an electric shock, Ellen felt the healing power go through her. The pain left her. Her soul filled with gratitude; she accepted the gift, and rested in peace. The next day she was able to sit up, and the second day she rode thirty-eight miles to the meeting at Topsham. The windows of her room were raised to let the cold winter air blow through. The neighbors, seeing this, supposed she was dead, and inquired of her father, "When is the funeral to be?"

"The funeral?"

"Yes, the funeral of your daughter, young Mrs. White."



"She is not dead," said Mr. Harmon; "she has been healed by the power of prayer, and is on her way to Topsham."¹

In August, 1847, their first child was born; and in friendship and gratitude he was named Henry Nichols White—a bonny lad, who must pass through many vicissitudes in his parents' toilsome journeys, and come to his youth a loyal and generous boy, filled with the spirit of song.

Pilgrims and homeless in their own land, the Whites faced a future their eyes could not pierce. Might not they settle down, achieve independence and a competence by the industry and frugality inherent in them, and make the comfort and joy of a quiet Christian home? No, not they. The hand of God was upon them; and by faith, when they were called to go out into a place which they should after receive for an inheritance, they obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither they went. For they looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

In October of 1847, Stockbridge Howland and his wife, of Topsham, Maine, offered them a part of their commodious house for living quarters; and with borrowed furniture they set up housekeeping. The Howlands were to prove staunch friends and helpers through many years. But Stockbridge Howland, substantial citizen though he was, a man of skill and competence, had spent his all, save his home, in the Second Advent cause; and he now was dependent upon his daily labor for sustenance. He had little more than a roof to offer, and that he gave.

James White sought a job. The first employment offered was hauling rock for the railroad. This he did for some time, but could not get his pay. He then took his ax, and went into the woods to chop cordwood, earning about fifty cents a day. Severe pain racked him, so that he could not sleep at night. What was this? The Lord's work? How could it be? They sought to keep their cheer, but always the temptation assailed them: "Forsake the work of God, for God has forsaken you." But in the visions of the night they were made to know that

Upper: Home of Otis Nichols at Dorchester, Massachusetts, where Mrs. White had her first vision relative to the publishing work. Lower: Home of Albert Belden, Rocky Hill, Connecticut, birthplace of the first Seventh-day Adventist periodical.

God was trying them for their good, stirring up their nest lest they should settle down, and be unwilling to work for souls.

One morning as James White left for his work he took from his pocket his last coins, nine cents, and gave them to his wife. It would pay for three pints of milk, three days, for herself and the baby. But little Henry was almost naked; the question with his mother was whether to buy the milk or to spend the nine cents for some calico to make an apron for her child. She bought the cloth rather than the milk.²

What an ecclesiastical enterprise! Two men founding a church: Joseph Bates with one York shilling, James White with nine cents! What a beginning for a church that spends its annual millions today! There may indeed be individuals in this church now who wrestle with poverty almost equal to this, and God blesses their sacrifices for the cause today as He blessed Bates and White then and as He blessed the lonely widow with two mites at the treasury of the Temple; but how small a part of the present resources of the church are they! And yet, who shall say? Christ counts His treasures, not in the easy offerings of the rich nor in the numbers of His adherents, but in the wealth of the spirit that animates His disciples, rich or poor.

Thus through the winter of 1847-48 they made a living, meager though it was, and home seemed very precious. Certainly they could not travel with the baby, and besides, there was no money for traveling. But suddenly their child was stricken, it seemed, with death. They gave him simple remedies, to no avail; they prayed, but there was no change. Then, sensing that their love of home was standing in their way, they consecrated themselves anew to God, willing to leave their child if that must be. Quickly the baby's case mended; he began to recover. "Light from heaven was breaking through the clouds, and shining upon us again. Hope revived. Our prayers were graciously answered."

Word came from E. L. H. Chamberlain, of Middletown, Connecticut, urging them to attend a conference there in

April. They resolved to go if they could get the money. James White settled with his employer, and found that ten dollars was coming to him. Five dollars went for much-needed clothing, and Mrs. White patched the patches on her husband's overcoat. They had five dollars left with which to reach their destination.

The five dollars carried them by train to Dorchester, where Mrs. Nichols handed them another five, which paid their way to Middletown. No one met them; they knew no one personally, and with but fifty cents left, they placed their trunk high on a pile of lumber (there was no checking system then, and no baggage room) and walked on, at last to find Brother Chamberlain, the first of many meetings and much labor together.

The conference was to be held at the farm home of Albert Belden, near the town of Rocky Hill, eight miles out. Belden sent his two-horse wagon into Middletown to convey the conferees to his home. Soon after their arrival, on the afternoon of April 20, in walked Joseph Bates and H. S. Gurney, whom they knew.³ Fifteen were present that night, and the next day the number grew to fifty. Rocky Hill! Apt name for this period in their experience. It was to be their headquarters for the next eighteen months, they who had no home. The meeting was held in Albert Belden's house, in a "large unfinished chamber" in the second story, which was destined to be the birthplace of the first Seventh-day Adventist periodical.

This conference at Rocky Hill was the first of a series of six important "Sabbath conferences" held during this year, which began to collect and bind together the believers in the Sabbath truth. In the preaching Joseph Bates's principal subject was the law of God, including the Sabbath; James White's, the third angel's message.

Out New York way the message was beginning to sound, with Hiram Edson its foremost exponent. He now wrote to Bates and White, inviting them to a meeting at Volney, New York, in August. Edson wrote that the brethren were generally



poor, and that he could not promise much toward defraying their expenses, but he would do what he could.

Who would pay their way? Three months lay between them and the conference, and James White would work with his hands. He was dyspeptic, lame from a youthful accident, and his knowledge of what later was called health reform was limited to wondering how Brother Bates could be so well and strong living on bread and water. He, James White, was not well or strong; but mind overcame physical ailments, and prayer for daily strength kept up both him and his wife.

With two brethren, George W. Holt and John Belden, he contracted to mow one hundred acres of hay (with hand scythes), at 87½ cents an acre. "Praise the Lord!" wrote the dauntless enthusiast to Stockbridge Howland, "I hope to get a few dollars to use in the cause of God." He earned forty dollars.

So the Whites went to New York. It was their first meeting with Hiram Edson. Bates, Gurney, and Chamberlain also attended from New England. The meeting was held in David Arnold's barn, at Volney. About thirty-five were present, all who could be collected from that part of the State. But there were nearly thirty-five different creeds; "there were hardly two agreed." David Arnold evidently had imbibed some of the heterodox views of George Storrs' party, putting the millennium in the past, and objecting to the celebration of the Lord's supper except at the time of the Passover, of which he said it was the continuation. Many other errors were brought forward by different ones, and the conference was in discord.

A heavy weight pressed upon the leaders, and especially upon Mrs. White. She fainted, and some thought she was dying. But Elders White, Bates, Chamberlain, Gurney, and Edson prayed for her, and she revived. Then she was taken into vision, in which she was shown the errors in contrast to their opposite truths; and again, with a heavy Bible lifted high in her hand, she turned the pages and pointed to the texts she quoted in support of those truths. She was bidden to tell the factious ones to yield their errors and unite upon

The series of six Adventist conferences in New England and New York State laid the foundation for a world-encircling movement. Joseph Bates is shown here presenting evidence on a crucial point.

the truth of the third angel's message. The gift of prophecy gained the day. All the once discordant elements found a harmony and beauty in the truths thus presented, and the meeting closed triumphantly. Thus a sound foundation was laid for the work in New York.⁴ David Arnold became one of the shining lights in that State for many years, and an exponent of the faith in public print.

The third "Sabbath conference" was held at Hiram Edson's home in Port Gibson, New York, on August 27 and 28. There, in the barn where the comfort of God had come to the brethren praying on the morning of October 23, 1844, another outpouring of the Spirit came upon the company assembled. Some present who loved the truth were listening to those who taught error, but before the close of that meeting harmony prevailed.

Returning to Connecticut, the Whites held the fourth Sabbath conference at Rocky Hill on September 8 and 9. They had left their child at Middletown in the care of a good young sister, Clarissa Bonfoey, who long served with them. Now upon their return, they found him ailing; and for some time they were hindered from holding another conference, as they wished, with the brethren in Maine. But at last, taking the child's case to the Lord, they were blessed in his recovery; and in October they returned to Maine. There, at Topsham, the fifth conference was held, October 20-22, 1848, and the work in Maine was well bound together.

At this Topsham conference they discussed the possibility of publishing a paper. James White had felt for some time the urge to publish, and it was the desire of the brethren to encourage him in this; but there appeared no means of doing it. James White himself was penniless, except as he worked at manual labor; the other preachers were in about the same case; and they all knew it took money to publish. So the matter was laid aside till the way should seem open.

The Whites were called to labor in Maine and near-by States. A painful decision was upon them: they could not

travel with their child and do the work of God. For his sake as well as the sake of God's work they must part. The Howlands offered to keep him, and with deep heart wrenchings Mrs. White gave him into their care. "His little sad face, as I left him, was before me night and day; yet in the strength of the Lord I put him out of my mind, and sought to do others good."⁵ With gracious love and kindly care the Howlands kept the child for the next five years.

The sixth conference was held November 18, in Dorchester, Massachusetts, where Otis Nichols lived. Joseph Bates, in a tract he published a few weeks later, *A Seal of the Living God*, wrote: "Before the meeting commenced, some of us were examining some of the points in the sealing message [Revelation 7:1-8]; some difference of opinion existed about the correctness in the view of the word 'ascending' [verse 2], etc., and whereas we had made the publishing of the message a subject of prayer at the Topsham [Maine] conference a little previous, and the way to publish appeared not sufficiently clear, we therefore resolved unitedly to refer it all to God. After some time spent in earnest prayer for light and instruction, God gave Sister White the following in vision."

In the vision she seemed to be watching a light as of the sun, ascending in the east, like the angel in Revelation 7, and she greeted it with exclamations of wonder at its increasing power. "Out of weakness it has become strong! . . . It arises, commencing from the rising of the sun. . . . O the power of those rays! It grows in strength. . . . The angels are holding the four winds. . . . The saints are not all sealed! . . . Yea, publish the things thou hast seen and heard, and the blessing of God will attend." "Look ye! That *rising* is in *strength*, and grows brighter and brighter!"⁶

When she came out of vision she said to her husband: "I have a message for you. You must begin to print a little paper, and send it out to the people. Let it be small at first; but as the people read, they will send you means with which to print, and it will be a success from the first. From this small be-



ginning it was shown to me to be like streams of light that went clear round the world.”⁷

Yes; that is very well, but printers must be paid. Where was the money for that first bill? There were probably no more than a hundred Sabbathkeeping Adventists at that time, and most of them were very poor. On James White the burden rested heavily, but for months he saw no way.

In June of 1849, seven months later, Clarissa Bonfoey, the young woman in Middletown, Connecticut, who had cared for their child when they went to New York, proposed to live with them. Her parents had just died, and in the division of their goods sufficient furniture and household furnishings came to her to provide for housekeeping. Albert Belden wrote to them in Maine, sending them money to move and offering them quarters in his house, including that same “large unfinished chamber” where the first conference had met; and there with Miss Bonfoey they made a home. She “was a precious child of God. She possessed a cheerful and happy disposition, never gloomy, yet not light and trifling.”⁸

But James White had become discouraged over the prospects of starting a paper, as urged upon him by the Dorchester message, if it was to be started by donations from others. He felt he must push the door open himself. So, in Rocky Hill again, he looked about for another field of grass to mow. As he left the house his wife, anguished by the development, fainted. Prayer was offered for her, she revived, and then was taken into vision. In this vision she was instructed that, though the previous year her husband had been blessed and strengthened to labor with his hands for means to advance the cause, it was not now God’s will that he should repeat the experience. There was money in the hands of the believers, and they should support the work. If he should now attempt to labor in the hayfield, he would be stricken down by sickness: he was to write, and in faith to publish the truth.⁹

James White answered the message. He wrote, and he prayed, and he walked out by faith. He started to publish with



no money in sight, but, as he later testified, the money came in from readers. He arranged with a printer in Middletown, Charles Hamlin Pelton, to print the little eight-page sheet, which he named *Present Truth*. It contained clear though brief presentations of the Sabbath truth, the sanctuary, and the gift of prophecy. "I hope," he wrote in this first number, "this little sheet will afford you comfort and strength. Love and duty have compelled me to send it out to you. I know you must be rooted, and built up in the present truth, or you will not be able to stand 'in the battle in the day of the Lord.' "

Several times, while the work was being done, James White walked to Middletown and back, to edit it; but on the day of publication he borrowed Belden's horse and buggy to bring home the papers. "The precious printed sheets were brought into the house and laid on the floor, and then a little group of interested ones were gathered in, and we knelt around the papers, and with humble hearts and many tears besought the Lord to let His blessing rest upon these printed messengers of truth."¹⁰

The little company joined in folding the papers, and as many were wrapped and addressed as they had names of those who might be interested. Then James White put them in a carpetbag, and on foot carried them to the post office in Middletown. The periodical publication of the yet unformed denomination had begun.

Mrs. White's prediction that "As the people read, they will send you means with which to print," was fulfilled. Later in the paper Elder White stated that more than enough was sent in to pay for the printing of the first four numbers, and whatever remained over was used in their traveling and ministering. Good news was also continually coming of more people accepting the message.

Four numbers of *Present Truth* were published in Middletown during July, August, and September. Then the Whites were called again into the field, and during the next two months no papers were published. A second child, James



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James White carrying the first edition of *The Present Truth* in a carpetbag to Middletown from Rocky Hill, Connecticut.

Edson, had been born to them on July 28, and at first they took the babe with them. Later they left him in the care of the faithful Bonfoey. With two children far apart, in the care of friends, they traveled almost constantly, despite their precarious health, proclaiming the doctrines, correcting errors, encouraging and building up the believers in the truth.

Joseph Bates likewise was on the road, practically all the time, roving farther than the Whites, but particularly working in Vermont and New Hampshire as well as Massachusetts, and then pioneering in Eastern Canada (Quebec), Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. He did not, however, at first approve of the publishing of this paper. Though at Topsham and Dorchester he had seemed to endorse the idea of publishing, for some reason he now opposed James White's doing so. A decade later White recalled, "The oldest preacher among us, and almost the only fellow-laborer we then had in this cause, refused for one year to write for our little paper, because to publish a paper was to do as others had done who had backslidden."¹¹ Bates got over that, however, helped by the Spirit of prophecy;

and later he faithfully reported and wrote for the *Review and Herald*, which he found a great help in his work. Staying but three or four days in a place, he would gather together a little company, take their subscriptions for the *Review*, and pass on. Thereafter the paper was the preacher.

The Whites were called again to New York, and for nearly a year they labored in that State. In November, 1849, they decided to move to Oswego, a town on Lake Ontario. There they rented a house,¹² and Miss Bonfoey joined them. In starting *Present Truth*, James White had no well-formed idea of making a continuous periodical. He later said, "When I commenced the 'Present Truth,' I did not expect to issue more than two or three numbers."¹³ Four numbers had been published, and then the interruption. Now that he was somewhat settled again, his mind reverted to the need of a paper, and in December he brought out the fifth and sixth numbers of *Present Truth* in Oswego. But he learned that continuity in a paper is a virtue, and its absence a calamity. There was no such spontaneous greeting of this lonely waif as at the publication of the first; and in January he wrote, "Brother Bates discouraged me about the paper, and I gave it up forever."¹⁴ If Brother Bates, who had greatest influence in the field, would not cooperate, how could he go on with it?

No sooner had he come to this decision, however, than the Spirit of prophecy spoke to him with rebuke and encouragement. Mrs. White said, "I saw that God did not want James to stop yet, but he must *write, write, write, write*, and speed the message and let it go."¹⁵ Accordingly, rousing from his discouragement, he published again, in March, April, and May, numbers 7 to 10, the place of publication being Oswego.

But as yet there was no settled home for the pilgrims or for their paper. Leaving Oswego in June, they dwelt with a family named Harris in Centerport. In the fall they were called back to Maine, and there, at Paris, the eleventh and last number of *Present Truth* (by James White) was published in November, 1850. It contained the first published poetic ef-

fusion of a Seventh-day Adventist, written by William H. Hyde, who had been healed by prayer from both disease and disaffection, and who, on witnessing Mrs. White in vision and hearing the message of heaven, composed what has since become a popular hymn:

“We have heard from the bright, the holy land,
We have heard, and our hearts are glad;
For we were a lonely pilgrim band,
And weary, and worn, and sad.”¹⁸

Present Truth, however, had a worthy successor. From August to November of 1850, while sojourning with the Harrises, James White had published five numbers of a paper containing extracts from earlier Adventist papers, testimonies from leaders of that time, which presented some of the same views now maintained by the seventh-day Sabbath group, but which were repudiated by the great body of Adventists. This was in demonstration of orthodoxy, albeit an advancing orthodoxy, in the Sabbatarian group. The paper was appropriately named *Advent Review*; it was published in Auburn, New York, the nearest large town to their residence at Centerport. The fifth and last number, however, was published in Paris, Maine. The name, thus originating, was destined to be perpetuated, as we shall see.

In a conference of the brethren in Paris, Maine, in November, after the Whites' arrival, and after the publication of the fifth number of the *Advent Review* and the belated eleventh number of *Present Truth*, it was decided that its place should be filled by a new paper, to be called *The Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. Thus was born the *Review and Herald*, honored by long life and useful service to the present day, as the official church paper of Seventh-day Adventists. In the next volume the *Second* was dropped, and it became, as it remains, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. Though adopting, in the first part of its name, the title of the paper published the previous summer in Auburn, it retained little of the purpose of that sheet, to *review* past

teachings. These teachings in respect to the fulfillment of prophecy were so generally repudiated by the Adventists other than the seventh-day group that to quote the leaders of that time had little influence. The truths of 1844, illumined and explained, required restatement, and this paper became the *herald* both of the Advent and of the Sabbath.

Still with no fixed abode, James White published the first volume of the *Review and Herald* in Paris, Maine. But in 1851 he removed to Saratoga Springs, New York, where the second volume was published. Then came a forward step, when, early in 1852, they moved to Rochester, New York, purchased a printing press of their own, and established, at 124 Mount Hope Avenue, not only a home, but an office where for the first time they did their own printing. Beginning in May, 1852, the *Review and Herald* was published here for three years, until the removal to Michigan.

In the midst of his heavy responsibilities for the shaping and urging forward of the general cause, James White's heart was ever tender toward the children. We note in his reports accounts of ministering to the children and youth, and rejoicing at their conversion and consecration. In the middle of this year 1852 he came to the decision to devote a paper wholly to them. He wrote, "We design publishing a small monthly paper, containing matter for the benefit of youth. . . . The children should have a paper of their own, one that will interest and instruct them." Detailing somewhat the prospectus, he appealed not only to parents but to the children themselves for support: "The paper will cost, including postage, only about three cents a month. Many little boys and girls spend enough for candies and toys, that are of no real value, to pay for five or six such papers. We mean that all the children that cannot pay for it . . . shall have it free, . . . but many of the children will deny themselves of toys so as to be able to pay for their own."¹⁷

As with everything else, the editorship at first devolved upon James White. Here, there, and everywhere was his desk,



THE ADVENT REVIEW.

Vol. I.]

AUBURN, (N. Y.) AUGUST, 1860.

[No. 1.

"CALL TO REMEMBRANCE THE FORMER DAYS."

HIRAM EDBSON,
DAVID AGNEW,
GEO. W. HOLT,
SAMUEL W. RHODES, and
JAMES WHITE.

} Publishing
Committee.

TERMS—*Gratis*, except the reader desires to give something toward its publication.

☞ All communications, orders and remittances for the "Review" should be directed to James White, Port Byron, N. Y., (POST PAID.)

H. Chapman, Printer, Auburn.

Our design in this review is to cheer and refresh the true believer, by showing the fulfilment of Prophecy in the past wonderful work of God, in calling out, and separating from the world and nominal church, a people who are looking for the second advent of the dear Saviour.

Those who claim to be Adventists should, to be consistent, acknowledge the means that God in mercy has employed to bring them to the light of the advent truth, and which has made them what they are. No one will deny the fact that it was the proclamation of the time, 1842, as it was written on the chart, that aroused the advent people to look for the Lord. If that alarm had not been given, none would have been waked up to see the true light, and those who rejoice in the "blessed hope," would now, doubtless, be covered up in the mist and darkness of the nominal church. We cannot, therefore, see the least consistency in the position of those who call themselves Adventists, and at the same time call the very means that has brought them to this scriptural faith and hope, "a mistake," "fanaticism," "mesmerism," and, as some have said, "of the Devil."

What! shall we rejoice in the "blessed hope," and then turn round and curse the means that Heaven has employed to bring us to its light and glory? God forbid it. Such a course, and such a position, is not only inconsistent in the extreme, but blasphemous.

"Call to remembrance the former days," and, "ye have need of patience, that, after ye have DONE THE WILL OF GOD, ye might receive the promise, for yet a LITTLE WHILE, and he that is to come will come," &c. [Heb. x, 26, 27.] are words applicable to our case, and were designed for our in-

struction and comfort, who had faithfully given the warning to the world, and were disappointed, when we passed the point of time, to which we so confidently looked for the Lord.

In reviewing the past, we shall quote largely from the writings of the leaders in the advent cause, and show that they once, boldly advocated, and published to the world, the same position, relative to the fulfilment of Prophecy in the great leading advent movements in our past experience, that we now occupy; and that when the advent host were all united in 1844, they looked upon these movements in the same light in which we now view them, and thus show who have "LEFT THE ORIGINAL FAITH."

The special attention of the reader is called to the following lengthy extract. It is excellent. Read it carefully, and prayerfully, and it will lead you to have confidence in your past experience in the holy advent cause, confidence in God, and His holy word. It is from the "Advent Herald" for November 13, 1844.

J. V. HINES, S. BLISS, & A. HALE,
Editors.

"To all who love the Lord's appearing.

In the passing by of the seventh month, our friends and the public have a right to, and will expect from us, a statement of our views, and the reasons of the hope that is within us.—And first, as many are expecting from us a

CONFESSION.

We are ready, in the language of the apostle, to "confess unto them, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship we the God of our fathers, believing all things which are written in the law, and in the prophets; and have hope toward God, which they themselves also allow; that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust. And herein do we exercise ourselves, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man."

Staying thus to live, it has ever been our aim to make the scriptures the man of our counsel, to believe all that is written therein, and to teach that, and that only, which those souls we believed. Having thus taught, the church and the world regard us as misguided and deluded; and they suppose, and no doubt

from the top of his lunch box by the wayside to the board between two barrels in the scantily furnished office of the new printing plant. Anna White, his sister, became the first distinctive editor after him; Annie Smith lent a hand from her other duties, and the years saw a succession of editors more or less gifted, including that austere but versatile deacon, George Amadon.

Hundreds of Elder White's "little boys and girls," now grown to maturity and old age, remember with affection and gratitude the "paper of their own," from its intriguing head-piece that exercised the imagination, to its stories and child-conditioned homilies. Time graduated the *Youth's Instructor* to the upper levels, and *Our Little Friend* took over the "little boys and girls"; but through the years it has responded to the prayer of its founder: "May God wake up His people to a sense of their duty to those young minds intrusted to their care, to guide into the channel of virtue and holiness."

The establishment of a printing plant of their own was a great undertaking for the few believers of that early time. In March, 1852, a meeting was called at the home of Jesse Thompson, near Ballston Spa, a few miles from Saratoga Springs. Thompson was a prosperous lawyer and farmer, who had given liberally, and who had entertained James and Ellen White for several weeks when they first went to Saratoga Springs; he had also for twenty years been a minister in the Christian denomination. This conference was attended by a considerable number of brethren, including Bates, Andrews, Edson, Rhodes, as well as the *Review and Herald* staff. It was there decided to move to Rochester and set up a printing establishment of their own.

To establish this independence, gifts large and small were received from believers. Hiram Edson sold his farm, and besides giving a donation advanced sufficient to cover the cost till the pledges should be redeemed.¹⁸ In October, 1852, the *Review and Herald* announced that the cost of press and equipment had been \$652.93, and the receipts for the purpose

← PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

The house in Paris, Maine, where *The Present Truth* and *The Advent Review* were printed, forerunners of the present-day *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, general church paper of the Seventh-day Adventists. Page shown of vol. 1, No. 1.

\$655.84. Thus, before the work was eight years old, before there was any organization of any kind, before there was any means of support except voluntary contributions, the publishing work of the new cause was launched on a basis—for that time—fairly firm. From that has grown the present great publishing work of the denomination, with 49 main publishing houses throughout the world, 282 periodicals in 190 languages, and an annual sale of books and periodicals of over \$11,000,000.

It had been declared, "From this small beginning, it was shown to me to be like streams of light that went clear around the world."

¹ James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 238-240.

² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 245-249; Ellen G. White, *Christian Experience and Teachings*, pp. 118, 119; *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 86.

⁵ James White, *Life Sketches*, p. 255.

⁶ J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 273, 274.

⁷ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, p. 125.

⁸ See Appendix.

⁹ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 125, 126. Loughborough states that James White did mow a forty-acre field of hay at this time, for which he received \$30, and that with this he started the paper. (Loughborough, *op. cit.*, p. 275.) But in view of Mrs. White's statement, Loughborough must have been mistaken. There is in the files of the White Publications a photostat of a receipt from Pelton, dated September 3, 1849, for the complete payment of the bill for the four numbers, evidence that the money was not in hand at the beginning but came, as testified, from other sources.

¹⁰ Ellen G. White, *Christian Experience and Teachings*, p. 129.

¹¹ James White in *Review and Herald*, April 26, 1860, p. 182.

¹² See Appendix.

¹³ *Present Truth*, no. 6, Dec., 1849, p. 47.

¹⁴ James White letter, Jan. 10, 1850 (quoted in Arthur L. White, *Prophetic Guidance in Early Days*, p. 25).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *The Church Hymnal* (S.D.A.), no. 305.

¹⁷ *Review and Herald*, July 8, 1852, p. 37.

¹⁸ Edson, who was living one mile south of Port Gibson, New York, at the time of the disappointment, sold that farm in 1850 for \$2,200. He removed first to Oswego, but shortly we see reports coming from him from Port Byron, which is some forty miles to the south, on the canal. Evidently he bought a farm here; for Loughborough states that he sold this in 1852 for \$3,500, and out of this helped in the purchase of the press and equipment. (*Review and Herald*, Dec. 31, 1908; A. W. Spalding, *Footprints of the Pioneers*, pp. 77-79.)

MIGHTY MEN OF THE MOVEMENT

IN THE chronicles of King David, when his kingdom was abuilding, there are listed certain "captains" and "mighty men" who were the bulwark of his throne. One of them "lifted up his spear against eight hundred," and one "went down also and slew a lion in a pit in a snowy day." One stood with David at Pas-dammin, where in a barley field they alone fought the enemy, and defeated him. And three of the captains broke through the host of the Philistines to get for the nostalgic David a drink from the well of Bethlehem. Three there were who were first, and three who were second, and thirty altogether who were mighty. From the telling of individual deeds of prowess, such as Abishai's, the roster trails down into mere listing of names, to Jasiel the Mesobaite. But they were all mighty men.¹

So in the building of the kingdom of God in the earth, in the days of the beginning of the third angel's message, there were great men, some of whom were of the first three, and some of the second, and others who made up the thirty. "They were among the mighty men, helpers of the war." Some there were "whose faces were like the faces of lions, and were as swift as the roes upon the mountains," and some were "men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." And if some deeds are known, or if but a name remains, they deserve place in the chronicles of the time.

After the first three who have already been celebrated—Joseph Bates, James White, Ellen Harmon White—there are three, and all of them young, who rank as captains among the Sabbath forces of the time. These three are John Nevins Andrews, John N. Loughborough, and Uriah Smith. None of these were of the very first who followed Bates and White in the battle; but because they endured, and because they

wrought mighty works, and because they came to occupy important positions in the cause, they are most notable.

John N. Andrews was but a youth, seventeen years old, when with his parents he received the Sabbath truth. This was in 1845, before James White and his wife had accepted the Sabbath, and not much if at all later than Joseph Bates's conversion to it. John had set his sights for the law, and as his uncle Charles was in politics and later became a member of Congress, John saw a great field there for his talents. But the first angel's message caught the family, then the second, and finally the third, and John's ambitions in earthly politics were swallowed up in the heavenly message.

The company in Paris, Maine, however, was sadly torn by the visitations of fanatics in the four years following. Joseph Turner, Jesse Stevens, F. T. Howland, and others, with their harsh and extreme views, found this community of Adventists an attractive hunting ground. And finally the faithful but fearful brethren and sisters refused to meet, lest they be set upon by one of them. So when James and Ellen White visited them in September, 1849, they had had no meeting for a year and a half. But a meeting was called; and when F. T. Howland pressed in and interrupted, Stockbridge Howland,² that consecrated layman of Topsham, arose from prayer and, confronting the other, said, "Go out from this meeting. You have torn the hearts of God's children and made them bleed. Leave the house, or God will smite you." The fanatic blanched, sprang for his hat, and in terror fled. The power of God came down upon the assembly, prostrating some. Parents confessed to their children, and children to their parents. John Andrews exclaimed, "I would exchange a thousand errors for one truth."³

If he had errors to exchange for truth, the ratio was nearer one error for a thousand truths. The young man, twenty-one years old, from that time directed his fine mind to the study of God's message for the time. He began to preach and to write; and when the place of periodical publication was re-

moved to Paris, in the autumn of 1850, he became, with Joseph Bates and Samuel W. Rhodes, the listed publishing committee which stood behind James White as editor.

Year by year young Andrews grew in stature. Deeply studious, a quiet, unassuming man, he was yet a dauntless advocate, and his clear-cut reasoning was apparent in every article he wrote. One of his first antagonists was O. R. L. Crosier, who had turned against the faith he had at first espoused, and was championing the worn-out no-law theories of the antinomians. Wrote Andrews to Crosier, at the close of his concluding review:

“Deeply have I regretted the course pursued by yourself, yet that the blood of souls be not found upon me, I have deemed it duty to expose it. I know very well that such men as J. B. Cook, yourself and others, who have drawn back from obedience to the fourth commandment, can exert a greater influence against it than those who have never obeyed it. I have loved you both, for the testimony you once bore to the truth of God. My heart has bled to witness your strange course since. But I leave you to the mercy of that God, whose commandments you dare to fight.”⁴

J. N. Andrews was a warrior who stood in the forefront of the battle to the day of his death. He was the author of a number of books, most notable the scholarly work *History of the Sabbath and of the First Day of the Week*, which is still a standard in the Adventist library. He became the third president of the General Conference. He was sent to Europe as our first representative outside North America, and he laid there the foundations of the evangelical and the publishing work which later made Europe the second stronghold of Seventh-day Adventists. He was cut down by tuberculosis in the prime of life, dying in Basel, Switzerland, at the age of fifty-four.

John N. Loughborough in 1852 was a young man of twenty who for three years had been preaching in New York for the first-day Adventists—“the boy preacher.” In Rochester, in September of that year, he attended a series of lectures given



by J. N. Andrews on the doctrines of the seventh-day people, and with seven others of his church accepted this message. Elder and Mrs. White were away on a tour through the New England States. On their return, early in October, John Loughborough first met them, and this was the beginning of a long and intimate comradeship.

John Loughborough was from the beginning encouraged to labor in the ministry of the third angel's message. This did not mean that he was employed, with salary, and expenses paid. There was at that time no organization, no paymaster, no pay; every man went to war at his own expense. This, however, was nothing new to John Loughborough; the first-day Adventists had no organization either, and no system of ministerial support. He had, like all the rest, been relying on the gratitude and generosity of his hearers and on his own secular labors for sustenance, and oftentimes the going was rough. At a point five years later he records that his income from three months of ministerial labor was board and lodging (furnished, of course, by friends in each locality), a buffalo overcoat (very common in those days when the bison were being slaughtered on the Western plains), and ten dollars in money. Very often Adventist ministers worked at farming or a trade a part of the time, and paid their own way.

Young Loughborough was of a genial and sprightly nature, but most dependable. An agreeable companion, he was also a thorough caretaker and an indefatigable worker. His style of writing was distinctly his own, filled with incident and anecdotal illustrations. Beside the more solid and sometimes ponderous composition of some of the Adventist writers, his contributions stood out in sunny relief. Yet his offerings were serious and strong. He wrote much in exposition of prophecy, and he became the first historian of the denomination.

He bore many heavy responsibilities in his long life of evangelism, administration, and pioneering. He, with D. T. Bourdeau, opened the work on the Pacific Coast; he was the first representative sent to develop the work in England; he

was many times a conference president; and he was always a prominent figure in the councils of the denomination. His life was long, ninety-two years; and in it he saw the cause he loved, advance from a small company localized in half a dozen places, to an organized movement covering the whole world.

Uriah Smith connected with the *Review and Herald* office in Rochester in March, 1853. He was the son of Samuel and Rebekah Spalding Smith, of West Wilton, New Hampshire, and he and his sister Annie were ambitious of careers in teaching. The little family had come through the 1844 experience, and now the mother had accepted the third angel's message. But the young people, though fair-minded, were intent on finishing their education, and teaching. However, his sister having through a remarkable experience embraced the new faith and having gone to help the Whites, Uriah Smith was troubled and unsettled. He was persuaded to attend a conference of believers in the church at Washington, New Hampshire, in September, 1852, and by December he had made his decision to cast in his lot with this people. In doing this he and his sister turned aside an offer to teach at good salaries, whereas at the *Review* office for some time they labored for board and clothing only. Their father died on December 1, 1852, and Uriah's decision came just after that bereavement. Their mother was a woman of talent and devotion, whose poetical ability was inherited by both her children. She lived until 1875.

The career of Uriah Smith was distinctively that of editor and writer, though he also, in his heyday, was preacher, ranging from sea to sea, and also Bible teacher in the college. In the beginning, his connection with the publishing office in Rochester was not prominent, but he built his foundation solidly. His first contribution to the *Review* was a long poem in blank verse, *The Warning Voice of Time and Prophecy*, which ran from March 17 to August 11, 1853. Though given to the writing of this type of verse, he wrote some hymns that lived.

For fifty years Uriah Smith was connected with the editorial work of the *Review and Herald*, and for long periods of that

half century he was the editor in chief. His oversight and planning contributed largely to its progress, and his solid, logical style of writing was well suited to the needs of the time. In the production of pamphlets and books he had a good record; and his *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation*, a verse-by-verse commentary on these prophecies, has run through many editions and several revisions, still being the standard work in this field, amid a notable group of commentaries and expositions.

Of the three men, he stood midway in several particulars: age, talent, and length of life. He died in harness in 1903, at the age of seventy-one, stricken down while on his way to the editorial offices in Battle Creek.

Before her brother, Annie R. Smith was converted to the Sabbath and sanctuary faith, and connected with the slender working force on the *Review and Herald*. Indeed, she may be considered our first professional editorial worker, though hers was the proofreader's and copy editor's work rather than that of the editorial page. A sweeter, more self-effacing, yet talented woman has never been known among us, nor, we may say, elsewhere, than Annie R. Smith.

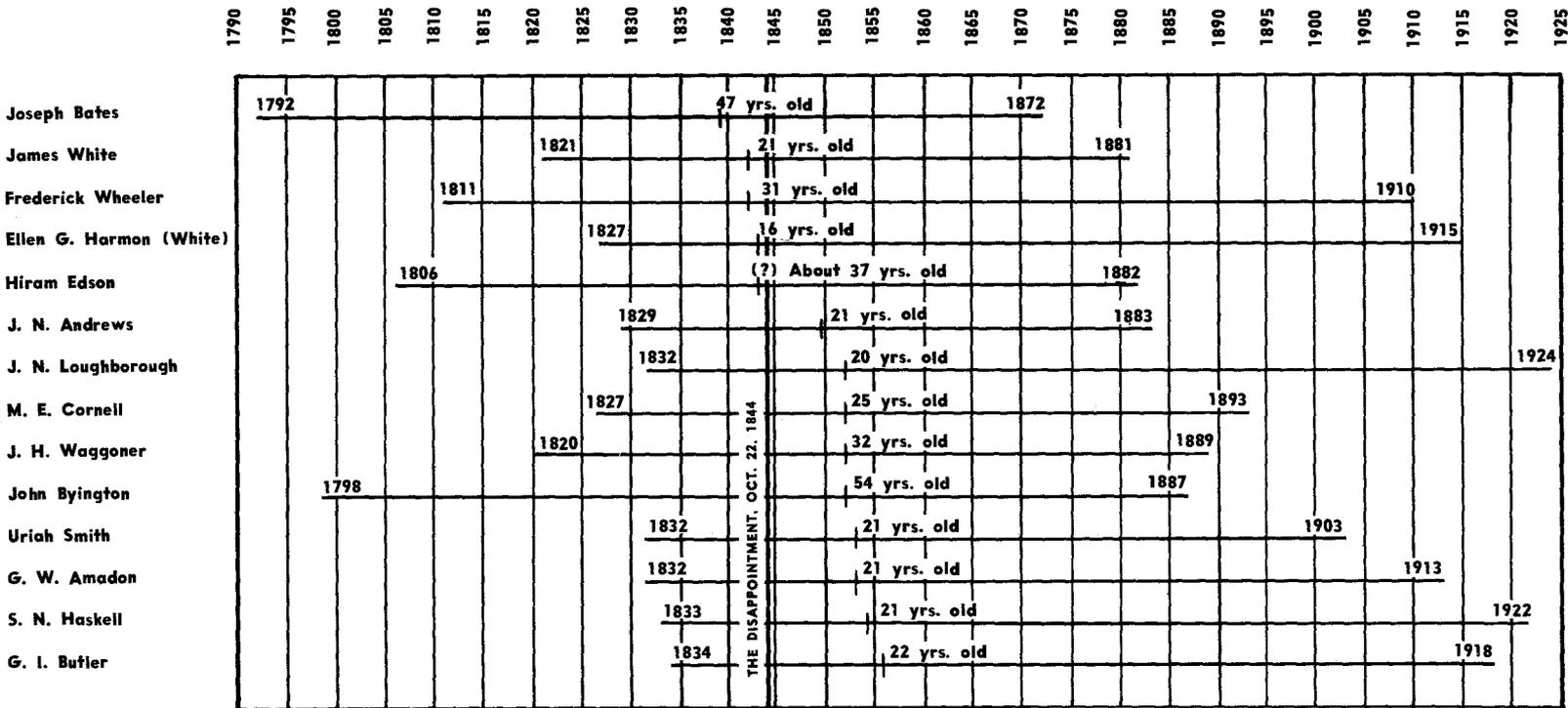
Her connection with the message had begun in 1851 when she had concluded her seminary course and was visiting friends in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Her mother wrote her, asking that she attend a meeting to be held by Elder Bates in Somerville, near Boston, on a Saturday. "Just to please my mother," said Annie, "I'll go." That night she dreamed she went but was late. As she entered, they were singing the second hymn. Every chair was occupied except one near the door, and this she took. A tall, noble, pleasant-looking man was pointing to a chart, and repeating, "Unto two thousand three hundred days, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." She dreamed that what he said was true.

Elder Bates that same night dreamed of opening the meeting, but he changed his subject, for what reason he knew not, and took instead the sanctuary question. He was just be-

COMPARATIVE LIFE SPANS OF LEADING PIONEER WORKERS

Each horizontal line represents the length of life of a given person.
Each of the short perpendicular lines near the given ages indicates the

age at which the person joined the Advent Movement, whether before or
after the 1844 disappointment. The majority of them were young men.



ginning his address when the door opened, and a young lady entered and took the vacant chair by the door. He dreamed that this young woman was Annie R. Smith.

And so their dreams focused on this point. And as they dreamed, it came to pass. Elder Bates, inattentive to his dream, planned to speak on a certain subject; but the thought of the sanctuary would intrude, and as he rose he took his text on it. Annie started in good time, but missed her way, and so came in late. As she entered she saw the man of whom she had dreamed standing by a chart, and he was pointing to it and repeating, "Unto two thousand three hundred days, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." She took the only vacant seat, by the door.

Joseph Bates saw her, his dream flashed into his mind, and he knew that this was Annie Smith. During the lecture that followed, which presented the sanctuary truth, the third angel's message, and the Sabbath, they were mutually attentive to each other. "This is the truth," said Annie to herself, as she had said in her dream.

As Elder Bates closed the meeting he stepped up to the young woman and said, "I believe this is Sister Smith's daughter, of West Wilton. I never saw you before, but your countenance is familiar. I dreamed of seeing you last night."

"And I dreamed of seeing you," said Annie, "and of what you preached. I believe it is the truth." She returned to her friends, but within three weeks decided to keep the Sabbath. She was at this time suffering from an affliction in her eyes, which she had strained when making a sketch of Boston and Charlestown from a distant hill. Her poetic muse, which had previously found expression in contribution to some magazines, now brought forth an expression of her new-found faith in a poem, "Fear Not Little Flock," which she sent to the *Review and Herald*, just then beginning its second volume, in Saratoga Springs, New York.⁵

James and Ellen White, impressed with her literary ability and much more with Joseph Bates's description of her piety

and devotion, invited her to join them. But she replied that she could not on account of the condition of her eyes. "Come anyway," they said. She went, and upon her arrival, prayer was offered for her recovery, with the result that her eyes were healed, and she entered at once upon her duties.⁶

Her term of service was brief, for, contracting pulmonary tuberculosis, which progressed rapidly, she died four years later. She is buried with her parents in the community cemetery at Wilton. But her consecrated life and her talented pen have made an ineffaceable impression upon the cause. Today some of her hymns are among the most treasured in the church: "Toil on a Little Longer," "I Ask Not, Lord, for Less to Bear," "Blessed Jesus, Meek and Lowly," "Hail, Peaceful Day," "He Sleeps in Jesus," "Long Upon the Mountains Weary," "How Far From Home?" and the historic "Blessed Hope."

Scarcely second to the former three, another group stand out in the early history: Hiram Edson, Joseph H. Waggoner, Stephen N. Haskell.

Not only was Hiram Edson a chosen instrument of God for the introduction of the sanctuary truth, but he was, with Bates and White, one of the deep-thinking students who developed the Seventh-day Adventist faith. He was a self-sacrificing servant of God, who placed his possessions on the altar, and made possible the early enterprises of the work. He labored in the evangelistic field with earnestness and ardor, and imparted his spirit to many a younger man.

John Loughborough was introduced into the work by Edson, who at the request of James White took him on a horse-and-buggy campaign through western Pennsylvania, and later labored much with him. Edson also was a pioneer in Canada, alone and with Bates, and there a considerable constituency was built up. In his latter days he suffered from ill-health and poverty, due to his generosity with his substance, a state which, however, his brethren were glad to relieve. He died in 1882, at the age of seventy-five; and he is buried with his wife in the little country cemetery at Roosevelt, New York.

Joseph H. Waggoner was a product of the West, the first of prominence to come from the far frontier. Editor and publisher of a political paper in Baraboo, Wisconsin, he first heard the message in 1851, when H. S. Case and Waterman Phelps passed through and in an hour's time ran over the whole field of the prophetic periods, the third angel's message, the United States in prophecy, and the Sabbath. Waggoner began to study for himself, and early in the next year came into the faith. Immediately he was welcomed to leadership, and in evangelism, editing, and writing he became a tower of strength to the cause. After James White, he was the first editor of the *Signs of the Times* and of our first health paper on the Pacific Coast. He wrote on Bible doctrines, health, and personal salvation. His "Refutation of the Age-to-Come" was very timely, his "Atonement in the Light of Reason and Revelation" a clear and concise treatise. He labored in Europe in his last days, dying in Basel, Switzerland (1889), in his sixty-ninth year.

Stephen N. Haskell was a youth of nineteen when, in 1852, in his native State of Massachusetts, he first heard an Adventist sermon. So he began preaching the Second Advent, supporting himself and his wife by selling home-made soap. The next year he encountered William L. Saxby, a tinner for the railroad and a Sabbathkeeper, to whom he bluntly said, "If you want to keep that old Jewish Sabbath, you can; but I never will." Not many weeks afterward he was not only keeping it but instructing others, so that Joseph Bates found a company ready to receive the full faith.⁷ Stephen Haskell continued for a long, long time, to his ninetieth year, and in that fruitful lifetime he became the "father of the tract and missionary society," which has developed into our hundreds of Book and Bible Houses and our thousands of local church literature bands; the promoter of educational, health, and publishing institutions; writer of important books; pioneer in Australia, England, South Africa; world-wide counselor, opening up or strengthening missions in India, China, and other non-Christian lands. His life and service measured with those of Loughborough.



A group of four next engage our attention, wide-ranging, eager, persistent proselyters: Holt, Rhodes, Cottrell, Cornell.

George W. Holt, of Connecticut, was one of the first pioneers, from the day that he swung the scythe with James White in the hayfield, to the years of his far-reaching service. He labored long in New England, Canada, and New York, helping to build strong constituencies there, then on into Ohio, where he pioneered, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin. More often than any other, he is mentioned in letters to the early *Review and Herald* by converts, some of whom became strong workers. He lived until 1877, though physically unable to labor the last fourteen years.

Samuel W. Rhodes was a blazing star, eager, impetuous, warmhearted, loyal. He laid his forceful hand upon the white-robed fanatics in Vermont;⁸ he smote the enemy hip and thigh in New York; he sallied into Michigan and all the Northwest. And deep in the conflict, he cried to White: "Be of good cheer, my dear tried brother, and in Jesus' name turn the battle to the gate. . . . I mean to go to Heaven with you. I love you more and more."⁹ He gave invaluable service in the early years, ranging even ahead of Bates in the West, and setting the pace for Cornell. Chronic illness and a hasty temper finally retired him; but he remained loyal to the last, asking only for "a more humble relation to the church with which I have been associated, and whom I still love devotedly."¹⁰

Roswell F. Cottrell, of western New York, descendant of French Albigenses, Seventh Day Baptist, and convert of Joseph Bates and Samuel Rhodes in 1851, became a prominent worker in the message, and the progenitor of faithful messengers. His poetic talent was first manifested in defense of the Sabbath, "It's Jewish."¹¹ Some of his hymns are among our finest: "The Wonders of Redeeming Love," "By Living Faith We Now Can See," "The Time Is Near When Zion's Sons." His pen was forceful in prose as well, and his preaching was powerful.

Merritt E. Cornell was one of Joseph Bates's converts in Michigan in 1852.¹² A young first-day Adventist preacher, he

**First row: R. F. Cottrell, Otis Nichols, George W. Amadon.
Second row: Oswald Stowell, J. B. Frisbie, Washington Morse.
Third row: Stockbridge Howland, T. M. Steward, R. J. Lawrence.**

and his wife were induced, though with great reluctance, to go to hear Bates at the house of his friend and former associate Dan R. Palmer, in Jackson. Arrived there, Angeline would not go in at first, and Merritt thought a few minutes would suffice to put down the obstreperous preacher. However, as he did not come out in a few minutes, she hitched the horse and entered also. After an hour or two of exposition the Cornells were backed against their stubborn wall of prejudice, and as a last resort Merritt produced a no-law article in Marsh's *Advent Harbinger*. A meeting was appointed for the next evening, when a three-and-one-half-hour refutation of that article completely convinced him. When at last they took up their journey, they drove toward her father's home, between Tyrone and Plymouth, eighteen miles west of Detroit. Nearing there, Cornell saw an Adventist brother, J. P. Kellogg, raking hay. He leaped the fence to deliver the message to him. Then, driving on, he met a neighbor on the road, and preached to him, and finally to his father-in-law, Henry Lyon. The result was a call for Brother Bates to come, and soon a good company was brought out there. The two men, Kellogg and Lyon, were to prove keystones in establishing the work in Michigan. Cornell, an enthusiastic, driving young man, was the first to purchase a tent for services; he was a far-ranging pioneer in the West, and one of the hardest-hitting evangelists in our ranks, a devoted and, in his latter years, a mellowed father in Israel. He died November 2, 1893.

Earliest of all the helpers of the first pioneers were some laymen strung along a line from Maine to Connecticut. The cradle of the cause was here; and among the faithful believers of those earliest years, to whom James and Ellen White might ever turn in time of need, we note Stockbridge Howland, of Topsham, Maine;¹⁸ Otis Nichols, of Dorchester, Massachusetts; and Albert Belden, of Rocky Hill, Connecticut. Nor must we forget Heman S. Gurney, of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, the blacksmith-singer who was at Joseph Bates's right hand, or E. L. H. Chamberlain of Middletown, Connecticut. All these

brethren "labored in the word," preaching, teaching, or exhorting, as well as ministering to the need of others. Otis Nichols was an engraver, who prepared the earliest prophetic charts, revised for the use of Seventh-day Adventists.

Washington, New Hampshire, was the birthplace of the Sabbath truth in Adventist circles, and most of its Sabbath-keepers soon accepted the third angel's message. Frederick Wheeler, of near-by Hillsboro, first ordained minister to accept the Sabbath, though hesitating through some years of troubled farming, finally, in 1851, devoted himself wholly to the ministry, and in 1858 located definitely at Washington. He lived to his one hundredth year. The Farnsworth brothers, Cyrus and William (the latter "the first Seventh-day Adventist in the world," according to his famous evangelist son Eugene), though they never assumed to preach, were strong upholders of the faith, and their numerous descendants have covered the earth with their service. A daughter of William Farnsworth married A. T. Robinson; he and his brother Dores A. Robinson were pioneers in South Africa and India. Stephen Newell Mead, a brother-in-law of the Farnsworths, was the father of Fred L. Mead, second general head and great organizer of the colporteur work, and a pioneer missionary to Africa, where he died.

A name familiar in the early records was Elon E. Everts, from New Hampshire; and Rebekah Smith, the mother of Uriah and Annie, was a product of the Granite State. Joseph Baker, of Lebanon, New Hampshire, a capable worker in 1844, was brought into the Sabbath ranks by Joseph Bates in 1850. He became a member of the publishing committee, with Bates and Andrews, and a successful evangelist. Leonard Hastings and his wife, of New Ipswich, were stanch friends and helpers in the earliest as well as later years.

Vermont, the Green Mountain State, became a stronghold in the early times, being at first the strongest conference; and though it sent some of its ablest pioneers as settlers into the West, it still nobly supported the cause. Washington Morse,

recovered from despondency by Mrs. White after the disappointment, became a good worker. He afterward removed to the West, and was the first pioneer in Minnesota, and its first conference president. E. P. Butler (whose son George was to become fifth president of the General Conference), first in Vermont, later in Iowa, was a solid, dependable figure in the early work. W. S. Ingraham, of Wolcott, Vermont, was a pioneer in many States, and was elected first president of Wisconsin when that conference was formed. And there was C. W. Sperry, of Vergennes and Pantton, a devoted evangelist, whose course was cut short in 1861 by tuberculosis. Josiah Hart, beginning in Vermont, afterward moved to northwestern Illinois, into territory where Joseph Bates had pioneered, and made a strong pillar of the church throughout that country. Albert Stone, a convert in 1853, became a tower of strength in the East. Stephen Pierce, whose wife was healed of chronic melancholia by the ministry of Mrs. White, was another early figure of power. And A. S. Hutchins, slight, smooth-shaven figure among the bearded men of the period, was an incisive, patient, dependable worker throughout the last half of the century. He was a Freewill Baptist minister, who used to pass Washington Morse's little factory every Sunday, and rebuke him for Sunday labor; but their conversations led Hutchins into study, and on hearing the "clear, conclusive, and overwhelming" arguments of George Holt in 1852, he was convicted and converted.

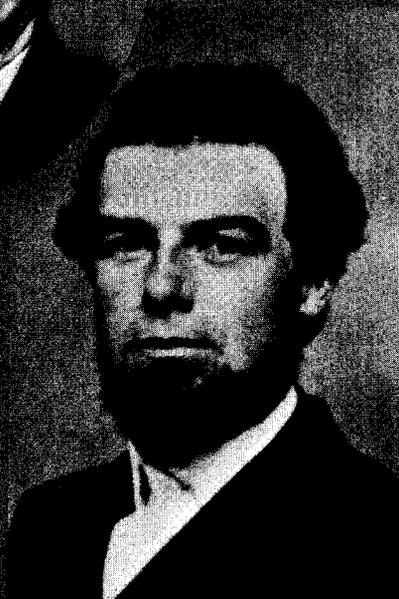
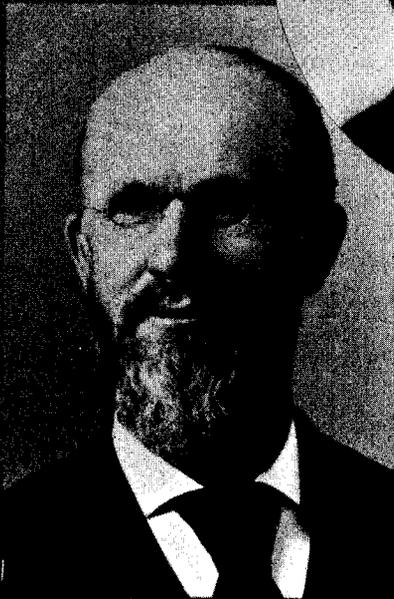
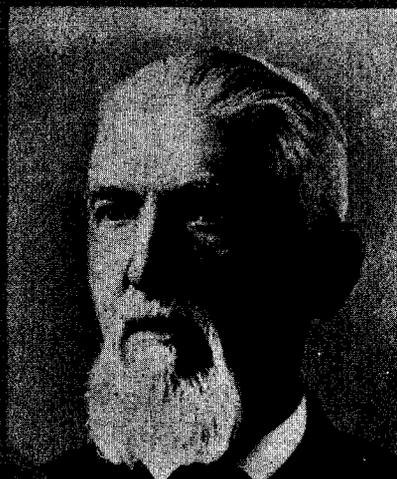
In New York there was David Arnold, in whose barn the first conference in the State was held, who wrote much in the early papers, and who was elected first president of the New York Conference. There was John Byington, a former Methodist minister, who at Buck's Bridge inaugurated the first home school for his children, and built what was probably the first Seventh-day Adventist meetinghouse.¹⁴ Elder Byington in 1857 removed to Michigan, which he crisscrossed with horse and buggy in evangelistic work, until it was said, "No one knows Michigan like John Byington." He was elected the first presi-

dent of the General Conference in 1863. C. O. Taylor, a New York worker, became the pioneer in the Deep South in the late seventies and eighties.

At the beginning of their publishing work in Rochester with their own equipment, the Sabbath people had no trained printers. They hired from the Saratoga printshop, which had previously done their work, a non-Adventist young man of good habits, L. V. Masten, as their foreman (he embraced the faith after being healed of cholera by prayer); he took as apprentices, several young men who became standbys. Of these, one was Albert Belden's son Stephen; he married Sarah Harmon, Ellen's older sister. Their son Frank later served as manager of the *Review and Herald*, and his many hymns and several songbooks have been a great contribution to hymnody. Stephen Belden much later in life went as a missionary to the South Seas, where he died.

There was Oswald Stowell, who in Paris, Maine, was one week ahead of John N. Andrews in beginning to keep the Sabbath. He came to the Rochester office as an apprentice, and long remained with the publishing house. His descendants to the third and fourth generation have had their part in the cause. There was George W. Amadon, caught from the canal towpath, long a foreman in the *Review and Herald*, also a deacon and revered Bible teacher. There was Warren Bachel-ler, who in Rochester would in secular phrase have been called the printer's devil, and whose long service and quiet, consistent Christian life, also as a foreman in the later *Review and Herald*, made him a force in the church.

We anticipate our evangelistic history when at this point we name a group of Michigan laymen as noted in their period as the Atlantic seaboard group who cradled the movement. Two of these men were Dan R. Palmer of Jackson, the initial Michigan convert of Joseph Bates, a blacksmith like Gurney, who later worked with him for a time; and David Hewitt, of Battle Creek, to whom, on his first visit there, Bates was directed by the postmaster as "the most honest man in town."



Hewitt was a Presbyterian and a peddler of low-priced articles, a sort of premature ten-cent store on wheels; and it was in his trading that he gained the reputation of being the "most honest man." After his conversion to the third angel's message he did a good deal of quiet missionary work, not only in Battle Creek but in adjacent towns. Though he never preached, he was an early example of that layman evangelist by whom the cause was built quite as much as by its clergy. Indeed, the distinction between layman and minister was not very sharp; for most ministers in those early days farmed or worked at trades, and many laymen labored in the ministry. There being no church organization, the traveling ministers received recognition as laborers by being given a card signed by Joseph Bates and James White as "leading ministers."

Three other men were closely associated in starting and upholding the publishing work when it came time to remove it to Michigan. They were Cyrenius Smith, John Preston Kellogg, and Henry Lyon. All three of these men, like Hiram Edson, sold their farms to invest money in the cause, while they took up trades to support their families. They, with Dan R. Palmer, furnished the funds which bought the lot and built the first little building for the publishing work in Battle Creek. Cyrenius Smith was the first "deacon" in the denomination whose name we have; and in that first beginning the deacon was the only church officer. His two sons and four daughters were famous singers in their youth. One of the daughters married an early worker in Michigan, A. A. Dodge; another married Robert M. Kilgore, of Iowa, who was one of the chief builders of the work in the South. J. P. Kellogg was the father of Dr. M. G. Kellogg, pioneer in many things; of Dr. John H. Kellogg, long at the head of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and all our medical work; and of Will K. Kellogg, the pioneer in health foods. Henry Lyon was the father-in-law of the Cornell brothers, Merritt and Myron, evangelists.

As the center of the work kept moving westward, settling at last in Michigan, that State came to furnish some of the fore-

most workers. A group of three attract our attention: Frisbie, Van Horn, Lawrence.

J. B. Frisbie was a Saul of Tarsus. Like Cornell, he was a first-day Adventist preacher, but was more vigorous in his opposition—so much so that in our early history in Michigan his name was linked with those of Marsh and Crosier as the most bitter of opponents. But in 1853 he went on his Damascus road to a revelation of the Redeemer in the most holy place. He became a prominent writer for the *Review and Herald*, a vigorous evangelist, and for half a century an honored worker in the cause.

I. D. Van Horn was one of the best beloved ministers through the last half of the century. He had the gift of the common touch. Paired with J. H. Waggoner, who had the deep intellect and a rather reserved manner, Van Horn made an ideal teammate, visiting and winning where his more mighty co-worker convinced. He was a grand hand with the children. In the Pacific Northwest he was the first Seventh-day Adventist minister in Oregon and Washington.

R. J. Lawrence was a man who combined in great degree the virtues of Waggoner and Van Horn. He was a strong reasoner but also a happy companion. In his pioneering in Missouri he went out on the farms and the cattle ranches, and worked with the men, until the farmers out of friendship came to his meetings, and the cowboys rallied around him in the face of his detractors.¹⁵

Two brothers, A. C. and D. T. Bourdeau, French Americans in Vermont, accepted the faith in 1856, and became strong workers in the cause. The younger, Daniel, was with Loughborough a pioneer in California. He also translated some works into French, and labored among French people in Canada, the United States, and Europe, spending fifteen years in France. A. C. Bourdeau, besides doing yeoman service in America, pioneered the work in the south of Europe.

A notable Ohio convert was Joseph Clarke, a farmer and teacher, whose labors were earnest and fruitful, whose counsel

was always sound, and whose frequent writings in the *Review and Herald* and the *Youth's Instructor* made him in effect a corresponding editor. With a wide variety of subjects, from doctrines and deep searchings of the Scriptures to child training and health, he wrote attractively for adults, youth, and children. He was a delegate to the conference of 1860 which fashioned organization, of which he was a strong upholder. After the Civil War he and his wife were among the first to go into the Southwest, as teachers of the freedmen, and he labored long in Texas in connection with R. M. Kilgore.

In Wisconsin the first convert to enter the ministry was Waterman Phelps,¹⁶ in 1851, who did strong work in the early years, but declined to accept organization when it came, and dropped out. Isaac Sanborn and T. M. Steward, however, were two Wisconsin men who labored and endured to the end.

The Scandinavian work began with a company of Norwegian immigrants at Oakland, seventy miles west of Milwaukee.¹⁷ The two families of Andrew Olsen and Ole Serns had come to America, not as most immigrants, merely to better their fortunes, but in the true spirit of the Pilgrims, to seek for religious freedom and greater light. Already in Norway they had questioned the validity of Sunday as the Sabbath. In America they joined the Methodist Church, but were not wholly satisfied, especially as to the Sabbath. Two other Norwegian families soon settled near them. Then one of their number came in contact with a Swede who was observing the seventh day. The four families in 1854 decided to keep the Sabbath. Others joined them, until there were eight Sabbath-keeping families there, the first Scandinavian Sabbathkeepers in America. In 1858 they attracted the attention of Seventh-day Adventists living near by, and Waterman Phelps came and preached to them. Since he knew only English and most of them knew only Norwegian, and there being no interpreter except the half dozen who knew some words of English and who whispered the translation to their seatmates, slow progress was made. In the end, however, Andrew Olsen and his wife were

baptized, and soon afterward the Serns family and the Johnson family. These three families have furnished scores of workers in the Adventist ranks in America, in Scandinavia, and in every continent on the globe. A son of Andrew Olsen, Ole A. Olsen, became the eighth president of the General Conference, the fifth occupant of that office, White and Butler having served alternating terms.

In the autumn of 1863 a young Danish Baptist preacher in Poyssippi, Wisconsin, John G. Matteson, through the personal work of a faithful Seventh-day Adventist, accepted the message, and soon brought in from thirty to forty of his people.¹⁸ In the next year he visited the company at Oakland, who joyfully welcomed a minister of their own language. Reaching out in every direction, under great hardships and with earnest labor, Elder Matteson spread the truth far and wide among his people, from Minnesota to Illinois and Iowa. Then he determined to have some Danish-Norwegian literature, and went to Battle Creek to solicit their help. But as the publishing company were dubious of the venture, Matteson entered the printing office and learned to set type, then printed his own. Such literature finally reaching the old country, he was at length sent over to open the work in Denmark (1877), which he did; then he entered Norway, and the work in Scandinavia thrived. Meanwhile the work among the Swedes in America had also begun, and literature in their language was published.

These all obtained a good report through faith. They subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, out of weakness were made strong, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. But as with the disciples of Jesus, there were others whom the historian must notice whose end was sad. Some of them were for a time mighty in word and deed; but some because of pride, some because of ambition, some because of weaknesses never overcome, turned aside and fell. Let no voice rise against them in scorn or in bitterness, but—

“A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make.”

H. S. Case was a pioneer preacher who accepted the faith in Michigan in 1851. He labored effectively in Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. But becoming incensed over rebuke for a harsh and unchristian attitude toward certain lay members, he left the ranks, and with C. P. Russell started in 1854 a paper they called the *Messenger of Truth*; hence they were known as "The Messenger Party." The first concerted disaffection, it caused considerable trouble and confusion, but within two years the paper died, and the party soon disintegrated.¹⁹

J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall were two of the first converts of J. H. Waggoner in Wisconsin. For some years they were prominent ministers, though they never abandoned but sometimes hid their belief in that doctrine of a probation for sinners after the Second Coming called the "age-to-come," which was held by some Adventists, then quite a party. At last, in 1855, they tried to stage a rebellion in Wisconsin, but failed to carry many with them; and soon they faded out, both of them finally dying insane.²⁰

Moses Hull, for some years a prominent preacher and pioneer in both East and West, never tried to create a party, but his fall was lamentable. He separated himself from his brethren by his pride and independence. Then, entering into debate with a Spiritist, he experimented with the satanic thing in order to get first-hand knowledge, and soon came under its influence. He left the Seventh-day Adventists in 1863, and ended at last an avowed enemy of Jesus Christ.²¹

In Michigan, in 1858, Gilbert Cranmer departed after being refused recognition as a minister because of the use of tobacco and neglect of family worship. He gained some followers, and in 1863 endeavored to resurrect the defunct *Messenger*, giving it the title of *Hope of Israel*, after the name of a former Millerite paper. This ran for two years, and then died for lack of support.²²

In Iowa two men who had been converted in 1862, B. F. Snook, a Methodist preacher, and W. H. Brinkerhoff, a lawyer,

were ordained, and Snook, upon the organization of the conference in 1863, became president. But the two men were jealous of the influence of Elder and Mrs. White, and continually spread false reports about them. Though once they repudiated their disunion and asked forgiveness, they kept the cauldron boiling in their hearts and in their ministry. In 1865 Snook was succeeded in the presidency by George I. Butler, an earnest young layman who was licensed as a minister and elected president of the conference at the same time. This was the final straw. Snook and Brinkerhoff rebelled, and tried to draw all Iowa after them. In 1866 they were separated from the church. They then gathered the remnants of the Cranmer Party and its defunct paper to themselves, establishing headquarters at Marion, Iowa; hence they were known as the "Marion Party." But the movement faltered and failed, the paper, at first called *Advent and Sabbath Herald*, being discontinued and resurrected again and again, under various names. Snook began preaching for the Universalists, and Brinkerhoff returned to teaching and the practice of law. The remnants of the party still exist in the churches known as "The Church of God (Adventist)" and "The Church of God (Seventh Day)" with headquarters at Salem, West Virginia. The two together number less than 4,000.

The last name is that of Dudley M. Canright, who in the '70's and '80's was a prominent and successful laborer in many States, yet always with much the same faults as Moses Hull, to which he added a consuming ambition. He was lovingly labored with, and several times brought back into harmonious fellowship. But in the end he sullenly slipped out, and soon evinced his dark spirit by writing a book against Seventh-day Adventists, filled with misrepresentations, which still is a part of the arsenal of opponents. Canright, though entering the Baptist ministry, was never happy or assured, as he more than once confessed, to the day of his death.

In all these cases, as in various others since, the chief point of attack by the mutineers was the Spirit of prophecy in Ellen

G. White. It always arose out of a rebellion against reproof and counsel, either in personal or in doctrinal matters. By such counsel many others through all the denominational history, submitting themselves to what, by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, they perceived to be true either of themselves or of the faith, were saved from shipwreck, and enabled to go on with courage and increased power.²³ The whole history of the Christian church, from apostolic days to this, repeats this lesson: "The wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand."²⁴

In all this warfare the battle has been pressed not alone by the captains, but by the loyal rank and file. While, as in all church history, there have been some in the ranks who failed to benefit by the truth, whose habits of body, mind, and spirit hampered and separated them, yet the great majority have been loyal, true, and earnest. They have labored as their leaders have, labored to the extent of their ability; and in literature distribution, in personal ministry to body and soul, in self-denying support, and in the example of their virtuous lives, they have forwarded the cause of the threefold message, the mission of Seventh-day Adventists.

All these were men of war, men that could keep rank, men who were of one heart, men who knew no other cause, men who put to flight all them of the valleys both East and West. And they said to every leader, "Peace, peace be unto thee, and peace be to thine helpers; for thy God helpeth thee."²⁵

¹ 2 Samuel 23:8-39; 1 Chronicles 11:10-47.

² Apparently the two men were not related.

³ James White, *Life Sketches*, p. 261.

⁴ *Review and Herald*, Aug. 5, 1852, p. 52.

⁵ Published in *Review and Herald*, Sept. 16, 1851.

⁶ J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 313-315; Rebekah Smith, *Poems; and a Sketch of the Life of Annie R. Smith*, pp. 98, 99.

⁷ See Appendix.

⁸ Ellen G. White, *Christian Experience and Teachings*, p. 139.

⁹ *Review and Herald*, Dec. 23, 1851, p. 69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1860.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1851.

¹² See Appendix.

¹³ His home, because of his constancy and the resources it afforded, was called "Fort Howland" by the early pioneers.

¹⁴ See Appendix.

¹⁵ See Appendix.

¹⁶ He seems, from his earliest communications, to have accepted the faith in northwestern Illinois, but his first labors were in Wisconsin. (See *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 16; Sept. 2, 1852, p. 72.)

¹⁷ Olsen, *Origin and Progress*, pp. 345 ff.

¹⁸ See Appendix.

¹⁹ Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, pp. 188-191, 217; *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 325, 326.

²⁰ Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, pp. 204-207; *The Great Second Advent Movement*, pp. 331-333.

²¹ Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, pp. 246, 251-253.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 217.

²³ For example, see Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, pp. 282-286; Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 312-318.

²⁴ Daniel 12:10.

²⁵ 1 Chronicles 12:18.

FOUNDATIONS OF FAITH

THE blessed hope!" Whoever saw Joseph Bates's signature through those early days of the message saw that closing salutation, "Yours in the blessed hope, J. Bates." It was echoed by his brethren and sisters, as the years rolled on, from the mountains of Vermont to the tides of Massachusetts, from the rocky shores of Maine to the prairies of Iowa, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and around the world—"The blessed hope!"

The phrase, taken from Paul's letter to Titus,¹ "Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ," is one of the most invigorating in the Epistles. It is bursting with joyous anticipation; it beams with the radiance of the day of God. Its exact significance and its setting in the heart of the gospel, are best portrayed in Weymouth's translation: "For the grace of God has displayed itself with saving power to all mankind, training us to renounce ungodliness and worldly desires and to live sober, upright, and pious lives in the present world, awaiting fulfilment of our blessed hope—the Appearing in glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave Himself for us to purchase our freedom from all iniquity, and purify for Himself a people who would be His own, zealous for good works."

The blessed hope is the hope of Christ's coming, contained in the last gospel message, the threefold message proclaimed by the angels and by the human armies under their command, the last legion of Christ. This is the hope that sings in the heart of every enlightened Christian:

"Joy to the world, the Lord will come!
 Let earth receive her King;
 Let every heart prepare Him room,
 And heaven and nature sing."

It is not the conscious hope of the world, though it is the only hope for the world. But men have turned away from the simplicity of the faith of Christ, and have sought unto fables. To the great men of the world the Second Advent is a fantastic myth, the product of credulous minds in a simple age; but they themselves were foreseen and foretold. Peter prophesied, "There shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."² Even the professed Christian church in large part has minimized or distorted the doctrine of the second coming; and the world, caught in the meshes of a materialistic philosophy, is more in dread of man-made annihilation than in hope of divine deliverance.

But the truth of the second coming of Christ, bringing an end to sin and misery and death, is the glorious hope, the blessed hope of the followers of Jesus. The atonement and redemption of Christ makes the grand cornerstone of the edifice of the church of God, and on either side of it and upon it are built the great truths of the Christian faith. For Christianity is a person; it is Christ. His personal presence is craved by Himself and by His followers: "Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am"; "Even so, come, Lord Jesus." In His First Advent, Jesus revealed the love of God, and died that man might live; the consummation of His redemption is in His Second Advent in righteousness and power, to restore all things as they were in the beginning, and to bring His rewards to saints and sinners. This has ever been the devout hope of His people and the salvation of the world which lies under the weight: "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together . . . waiting for"—³

"one far-off divine event,

To which the whole creation moves."⁴

Yet not, as to Tennyson, a "far-off" event, but even at the door.

The pioneers dug for truth as for hidden treasure. James White, Joseph Bates, Hiram Edson, John N. Andrews, and others quarried out the building stones to make the temple.

Some of the stones in that temple were already well-established doctrines in Christian faith; some had been lost or misshapen and were recovered; some were fresh from the quarry, waiting for the need of the building, which had now come. Nor is it to be understood that these pioneers grasped completely all the truths now held by the denomination. Knowledge of truth is progressive, and only they who grow in that knowledge are living Christians. Some of the truths hereinafter stated categorically were years in developing fully; they represent the present platform of Seventh-day Adventists, and there will doubtless be new concepts and, therefore, new statements of those truths. But the pioneers laid the solid foundations and erected the walls of the building; its modifications have been minor; and its finishing, according to pattern. Their blueprint was the Bible, the Inspired Word of God, through which runs in golden outline the love of God to man.

First, they found therein, and they believed in, the fatherhood of God. The heathen of old lost God's nearness because "when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful"; and the modern heathen have likewise orphaned themselves, putting God afar off as merely a primal cause. Jesus came to show us God, not as a distant, cold judge of mankind, but as a warmhearted, loving Father.

Second, they found the ineffable mystery of the oneness of God in the Trinity: the Father of all, the Son who is the Saviour of mankind, and the Holy Spirit through whom the grace of God is ministered to men.

Third, they found in the Bible, and they built upon it, the record that God created the earth and all that is therein in six days. It was a doctrine universally accepted in Christendom when they brought it forth for their building; but before half a century was gone it was a truth questioned, mauled, mis-



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treated, rejected, in favor of the myth of evolution. But into Seventh-day Adventist faith it is built as a foundation stone.

Fourth, they found the story of man's failure and fall, contrasting with the egoistic assumption that man evolved from primitive forms, physically, mentally, and morally. They placed no dependence upon man's innate ability to lift himself into higher states, but observed in the degraded state of the heathen the lesson of continued degeneration.

Fifth, they found that in the foreknowledge of God provision had been made for redemption from the fall by the further outpouring of God's love, in the giving of His only-begotten Son, "that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

Sixth, they found that the law of God and the gospel of Christ are in harmony, each necessary to the other. For the law of God is the nature of God, immutable, impossible of abrogation, holy, righteous, and just. It is the nature which God bequeathed to man, but broken by him in transgression, whereby he incurred death. Then the gospel of Jesus Christ, conceived in the councils of God for the salvation of errant and doomed man, came into the breach and rescued from final death those who through faith in Him are elected to eternal life.

Seventh, they found the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week, to be the memorial of direct creation and God's sign and seal of sanctification. That the most of the Christian world as well as the non-Christian had abandoned the true Sabbath, was an earnest of what they would soon do to the record of creation. Had the true Sabbath been kept with understanding by the human race, there would never have been an infidel, a heathen, a pagan religion. Had it been kept even by the church of Christ alone, with the true concept of its meaning and purpose, the neopagan cult of evolution would never have made headway in Christian lands. The Sabbath banner was raised over the heads of the people called to maintain the sovereignty of God.

Eighth, they found, and they believed in, the story of man's utter misbehavior and depravity, resulting in the Deluge, which great convulsion and its immediate aftermath changed the face of the earth and its living conditions until it "groaneth and travaileth in pain together . . . waiting for the . . . redemption." A remnant of the human race was saved with Noah, who peopled the earth anew, whereby God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Ninth, they traced the history of the race and the purpose of God fulfilled in the descendants of Abraham, the father of the faithful, through two thousand years of checkered loyalty, to the coming of that promised Seed, the Son of God.

Tenth, they discovered the voice of God in the prophets, warning, encouraging, correcting, foretelling. And in the case of the prophet Daniel they found the key to all the future, down to the last days of earth, when "the God of heaven [shall] set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed."

Then came the Christ, the Son of God, the Son of man, of whom His disciples testified, "For the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." ⁵

These witnessed to His vicarious sacrifice for the sins of men. They saw Him crucified, sealed in the tomb, rising in glory on the third morn, showing Himself to His chosen, ascending into heaven, with the promise, "I will come again." "This same Jesus," testified His angels, "which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." And the apostle Paul says, "Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words."

This was the cornerstone of the blessed hope. Leading to it on the one side were all those foundation stones in the rec-

ord of the Old Testament, with its wonders of creation, its Sabbath rest, its sad tale of disobedience and degradation, its gleam of hope in the promised Seed, its wilderness journeyings through four millenniums to the coming of the Christ. After it, on the other side, were to be found building stones of truth which should prepare a people for the glorious consummation. They were truths inherent in the gospel, but which had been abandoned or obscured, some of them in part and some wholly, some of them early in Christian history, some but recently.

First, the pioneers had found while still in the 1844 movement the truth of immortality only through Christ, which repudiated the popular idea among Christians of an eternally burning hell for the torture of the damned, the conscious state of the dead, and the natural immortality of man; and for these errors substituted the Bible truths that God only has immortality, that death is a sleep, that the dead both just and unjust shall be raised to judgment "in the resurrection at the last day," the righteous then to receive immortality from Christ. This doctrine armed them against the delusion and danger of spiritism.

Second, they took as their faith and practice, believer's baptism, rejecting the popish inventions of infant baptism and sprinkling. The Bible presents baptism as the sign of belief and acceptance of the indwelling Christ, being "buried with Him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."⁶ Immersion as the form of baptism had doubtless never been wholly lost out of the church, and a large body of Christians, the Baptists, held to this form, it being also optional in some other communions. The chief leaders of the Seventh-day Adventists had all been convinced that a believer's baptism by immersion was the only true form, and they taught it from the beginning.

Third, the heavenly sanctuary and the mediatorial service in it of our great High Priest, Jesus, was a truth which had

been hidden during the time of the medieval church. That "man of sin" who in Paul's day had already begun to work, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God,"⁷ had thrust himself between man and his great High Priest. The Protestant world had turned away from that error. Yet the sanctuary service, typed in the Mosaic ritual, and clearly explained in the Christian dispensation by the book of Hebrews, was veiled in great part till it was brought forth by the study of the Sabbatarian Adventists.

Fourth, the builders brought forth, cleared of rubbish and confusion, the doctrines of the judgment and the millennium. On the day that Jesus, our High Priest, entered the most holy to cleanse it, the examination of the lives of men through past ages began—the investigative judgment. When that work is finished and Jesus leaves the temple of God to come in glory as King, bringing His awards with Him, then begins the executive judgment. His glory smites into death the unrepentant; the righteous dead are raised, and with the living righteous are caught up to Christ. Then begins the millennium, which the redeemed spend in heaven with Christ.⁸ At its conclusion He and they return from heaven to the devastated earth; the wicked dead are raised; and in their final impious assault upon the Holy City, which had descended from heaven, under command of their leader, Satan, they are all destroyed by fire rained down from heaven; "the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up"; and this is followed by the creation of "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."⁹

Fifth, to warn the world and to prepare a people for that supreme event, they saw three mighty angels of heaven proclaiming and directing the proclamation through men, of a threefold message.¹⁰ Condensed, this was to worship the God who created the world, come out of Babylon, refuse to worship the beast or his image or to receive his mark. That triune mes-

sage, they perceived, began with the proclamation before 1844 of the imminent judgment, and each angel delaying his opening note but an interval, their combined voices swelled into the loud cry of the gospel message to the time of the appearing of the Lord Jesus in glory.

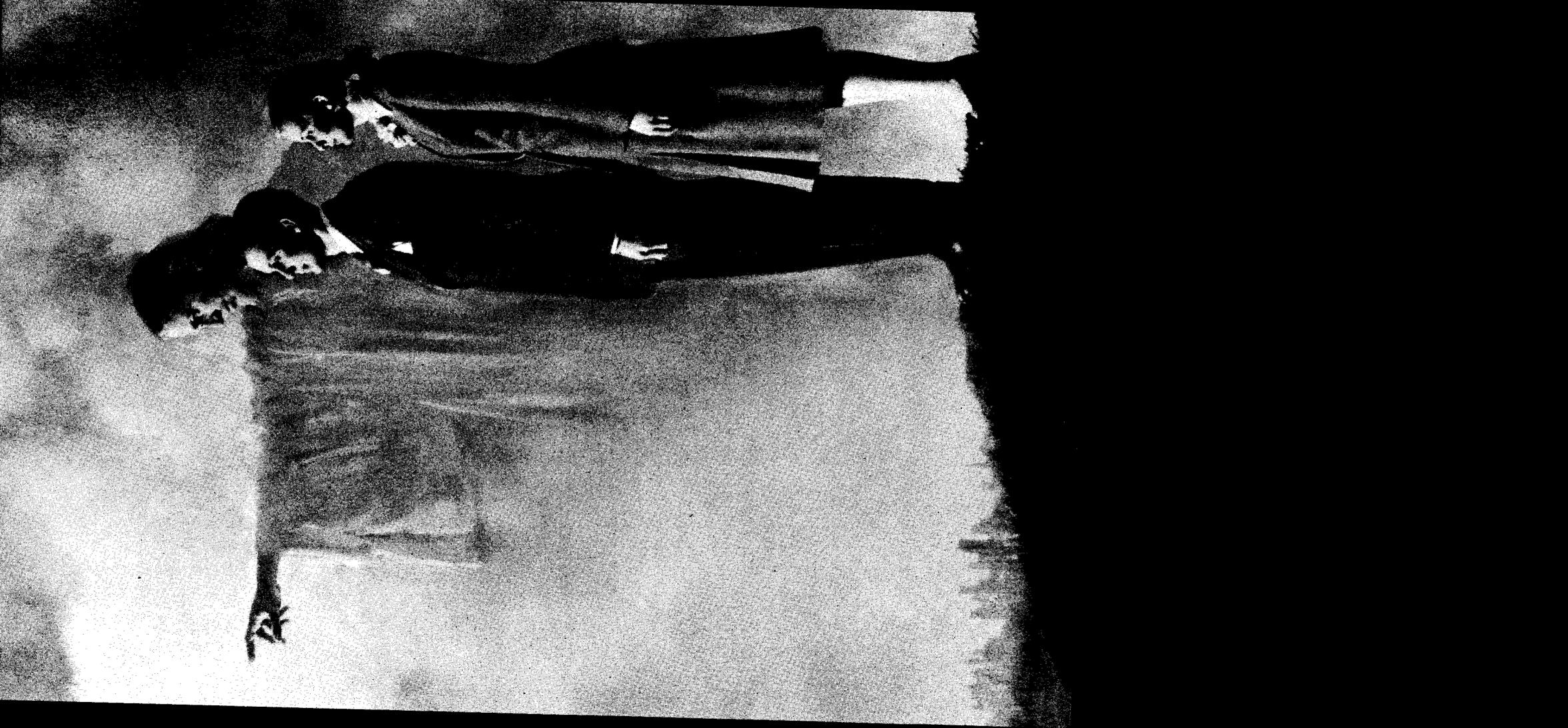
Sixth, they found that the remnant of Christ's church in the last days keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus, which is the Spirit of prophecy.¹¹ The Spirit of prophecy, like the church, had been in the wilderness through the Dark Ages, only a whisper of its voice now and then coming forth; but now in the last days Christ graciously granted His prophetic gift to the remnant church. Not only did the Spirit open to many minds the understanding of prophecies long ago given and now due to be fulfilled, but for safest guidance in interpretation and in conduct it gave the visions of the Almighty to a humble human instrument. And gratefully they received from God the Spirit of prophecy.

Seventh, they found waiting for them another gift of the Spirit, the gift of healing from sickness and of teaching the laws of health. The most of the pioneers in the beginning, like the people around them, knew almost nothing of how to maintain health, and some of them started with a poor endowment. Except Bates, they were wrong in diet, injudicious in labor, ignorant of the natural means of healing. But because they were innocently ignorant, and because they were strong in faith, and went forward under the burdens and disabilities of ill-health, which was largely caused by their faults, God did give them the evidence of His favor in healing by prayer. "Is any sick among you?" they read, "let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up."¹² Again and again they proved the truth of this promise, most remarkable cures being experienced in the persons of the workers and of the faithful laymen who followed this counsel. But in time, sparked perhaps by the example of Joseph

Bates, warned by increasing illnesses, and taught by the Spirit of the Lord, they came to practice and teach distinctive principles of healthful living as part of their gospel.

Eighth, they found the instruction of God to educate their children and their workmen. They read, "Thou shalt teach them [these truths] diligently unto thy children,"¹³ and "all thy children shall be taught of God,"¹⁴ and, "the things that thou hast heard of me . . . the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."¹⁵ Early in their history articles began to appear from various men of God urging the training and discipline of children in the home. One of the first subjects in the published volumes of the *Testimonies* of Mrs. White laid down basic principles of home education, which were later expanded into a fuller system.¹⁶ Gradually the light grew; and while performance was not always equal to program, there was accepted and developed a system of education from the cradle to maturity which is today in its balanced emphasis on mental, physical, and spiritual training a model of Christian education for the world.

Ninth, church government was a difficult thing to establish in Adventist ranks. The Advent believers in 1844 being thrust out from their mother churches, discovered to their satisfaction that those churches were Babylon. And once out, many Adventists had a strong aversion to any church organization. In the first two or three decades after the disappointment, the charge was familiar, among all branches of Adventists, that to organize in church affairs was to create Babylon. But as confusion resulted from this lack of organization—confusion in doctrine, in recognition of members, in designation of workers, in provision for financial support, in any effort for concerted action—and as *Babylon* means "confusion," the charge boomeranged. Order, decorum, authority, property rights—all demanded some church organization, which, besides, was taught by the Bible. The leaders of the Sabbath group from the beginning more or less saw the necessity, and gradually they brought the believers into line, and a thorough



system of church government was established. Involved in this was a plan of financial support which took the Biblical prescription of tithes and offerings. Beyond all other church organizations, the Seventh-day Adventist is, per capita, liberally financed by its constituents.

Tenth, the last command of the Lord Jesus to His disciples was, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."¹⁷ All the truth, all the light, all the joy and the peace that the Christian receives through the fullness of the knowledge of Christ, is for the purpose of service. "Freely ye have received, freely give," said the Master.¹⁸ And this law of the gospel, to minister, to serve, to give the truth, to spread the light, until from the first small gleams it should spread over the world, until the glory of God should cover the earth—this was a part of the truth, the implementation of the threefold message. Into this every instrument of proclamation was pressed: personal testimony, personal service, preaching, teaching, literature production and distribution, ministry of hygiene, healing, and maintenance of health. To this every institution has contributed—the school, the publishing house, the sanitarium, and the local church. By all these agencies, each in diversity, the church has sought to train its people, from child to adult, in the service of Christ and His cause.

All this is comprised in the blessed hope. And though much of it has taken time for development, yet in essence and in embryo it was present with the pioneers. They had no great resources of money or property or institutions, no wealth of credit or prestige or man power; but they went forward with what came to their hands; and ever their eyes were fixed upon the goal. Through hardships, privations, scorn, denunciation, misrepresentation, violence, they pressed on, "looking for that blessed hope, the glorious appearing of our great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." Did any fear? They were pointed to the hope. Did any falter? The hope strengthened them. Did foes withstand? Beyond lay the hope. Was there loss of friends? The hope was their reward. Ringing along their bat-

tle lines was the cheer that inspired Annie R. Smith to write of three great leaders, representative of the whole host:

I saw one weary, sad, and torn,
 With eager steps press on the way,
 Who long the hallowed cross had borne,
 Still looking for the promised day;
 While many a line of grief and care,
 Upon his brow was furrowed there;
 I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
 "O this!" said he—"the blessed hope." (Bates)

And one I saw, with sword and shield,
 Who boldly braved the world's cold frown,
 And fought, unyielding, on the field,
 To win an everlasting crown.
 Though worn with toil, oppressed by foes,
 No murmur from his heart arose;
 I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
 "O this!" said he—"the blessed hope." (White)

And there was one who left behind
 The cherished friends of early years,
 And honor, pleasure, wealth resigned,
 To tread the path bedewed with tears.
 Through trials deep and conflicts sore,
 Yet still a smile of joy he wore;
 I asked what buoyed his spirits up,
 "O this!" said he—"the blessed hope." (Andrews ?)¹⁹

¹ Titus 2:13.

² 2 Peter 3:3, 4.

³ Romans 8:22, 23.

⁴ The last lines of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.

⁵ 1 John 1:2.

⁶ Romans 6:4.

⁷ 2 Thessalonians 2:3, 4.

⁸ Revelation 19:11-20:6.

⁹ Revelation 20:7-15; 2 Thessalonians 2:8; 2 Peter 3:10-13.

¹⁰ Revelation 14:6-12.

¹¹ Revelation 12:17; 19:10.

¹² James 5:14, 15.

¹³ Deuteronomy 6:7.

¹⁴ Isaiah 54:13.

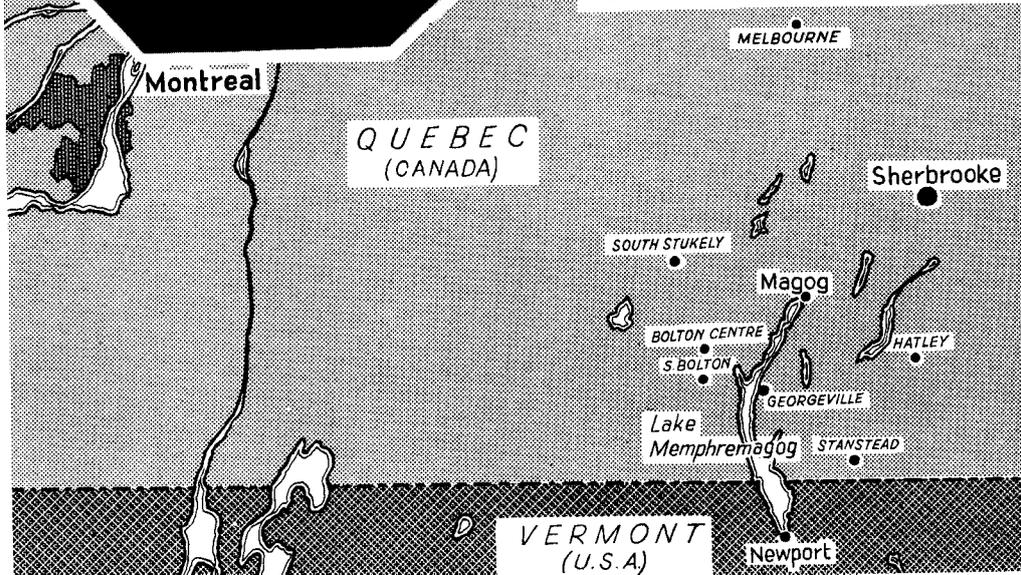
¹⁵ 2 Timothy 2:2.

¹⁶ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 118-120.

¹⁷ Mark 16:15.

¹⁸ Matthew 10:8.

¹⁹ See Appendix.



EXPANSION NORTH AND WEST

THE pioneer Sabbathkeeping Adventist in the North and the West, as nearly everywhere, was Joseph Bates. He had been a rover of the seas, and the impulse was still strong in him now that he had become a landsman. He ranged from Massachusetts north to Canada and south to Maryland, from the mountains of Vermont to the woods of Michigan and the prairies of Iowa. His tactics were to make lightning thrusts. Two or three days in a place were his limit, and in that time he would present in four lectures the complete outlines of his message. Then, after taking subscriptions for the church paper, the *Review and Herald*, he would pass on. When the Sabbath truth came to him he was beyond middle age. He was twenty to thirty years older than most of his fellow workers; but for a score of years he led them all in labors, privations, self-sacrifice, and pioneering spirit. Seldom was he at home more than a few days; and when he left, it might mean an absence of six months to a year.

The North was Canada. In its political history that land did not receive its present status of a Dominion, with its constituent provinces, until 1867. Previous to that Quebec was known as Lower Canada, or Canada East, and Ontario as Upper Canada, or Canada West. Beyond the Great Lakes the territory was held by the Hudson's Bay Company, except that on the Pacific Coast the colony of British Columbia was organized in 1858.

Canada East and Canada West had strongly felt the Advent Movement of 1844. Various heralds of the message, including William Miller, had preached there; and Richard Hutchinson, an English clergyman settled in Canada, and one of the most prominent of the Adventist leaders, had not only preached but had also published a paper and other literature. There was thus

Upper: Ministers at a camp meeting at Waterloo, Quebec, in 1893. Inset: N. W. Rockwell, maternal great-grandfather of C. L. Taylor, and first of six generations of Adventists. Inset: South Stukely, oldest Adventist church in Canada.

a seedbed prepared for the sowing of the third angel's message.¹

Early in 1850 Joseph Bates came into Canada East,² and brought companies at Melbourne and Eaton, where the people "were so prompt and decided to move out on the Lord's side as soon as the truth was presented."³ In the winter of 1851 he visited Canada West, and for several years thereafter he labored widely at times in both regions.

Preceding him in Canada West as heralds of the message were George W. Holt and Hiram Edson. With the latter, Bates also made some of his visits. George Holt was, in the first decades of the Sabbathkeeping Adventist mission, an indefatigable worker, widely known and dearly loved. In 1850 he preached the message at several points in Canada West, including Delaware and Ameliasburgh; and in the latter place at least he left a company which was afterward ministered to by Bates and Edson. Edson accompanied Holt on a second visit to Canada West in 1851.⁴

There was fruit from these early labors in the vineyard. Evidently a following comparable to the growing membership in the States was brought out. One of the early converts in Canada East was Niram W. Rockwell,⁵ from whom have descended five generations of Sabbathkeepers. Howard Lathrop, of Eaton, Canada East, developed into an evangelist who labored both in Canada and in New England.⁶

But there were also sown seeds of dissension. George Holt and James White speak of "the withering influence of false impressions and wrong moves of some who have professed to teach the present truth."⁷ What that influence was is not stated, but it is easy to surmise. Lillis, of Oswego (initials unknown), an erratic and violent man, who at first espoused the Advent faith but afterward joined the *Messenger* party and still later became a Spiritualist, was with Bates on his first visit to Canada West; and very likely his later contacts with the field were a "withering influence." The cause apparently languished in Canada, though various workers from the States continued through the years to visit and preach there, and there

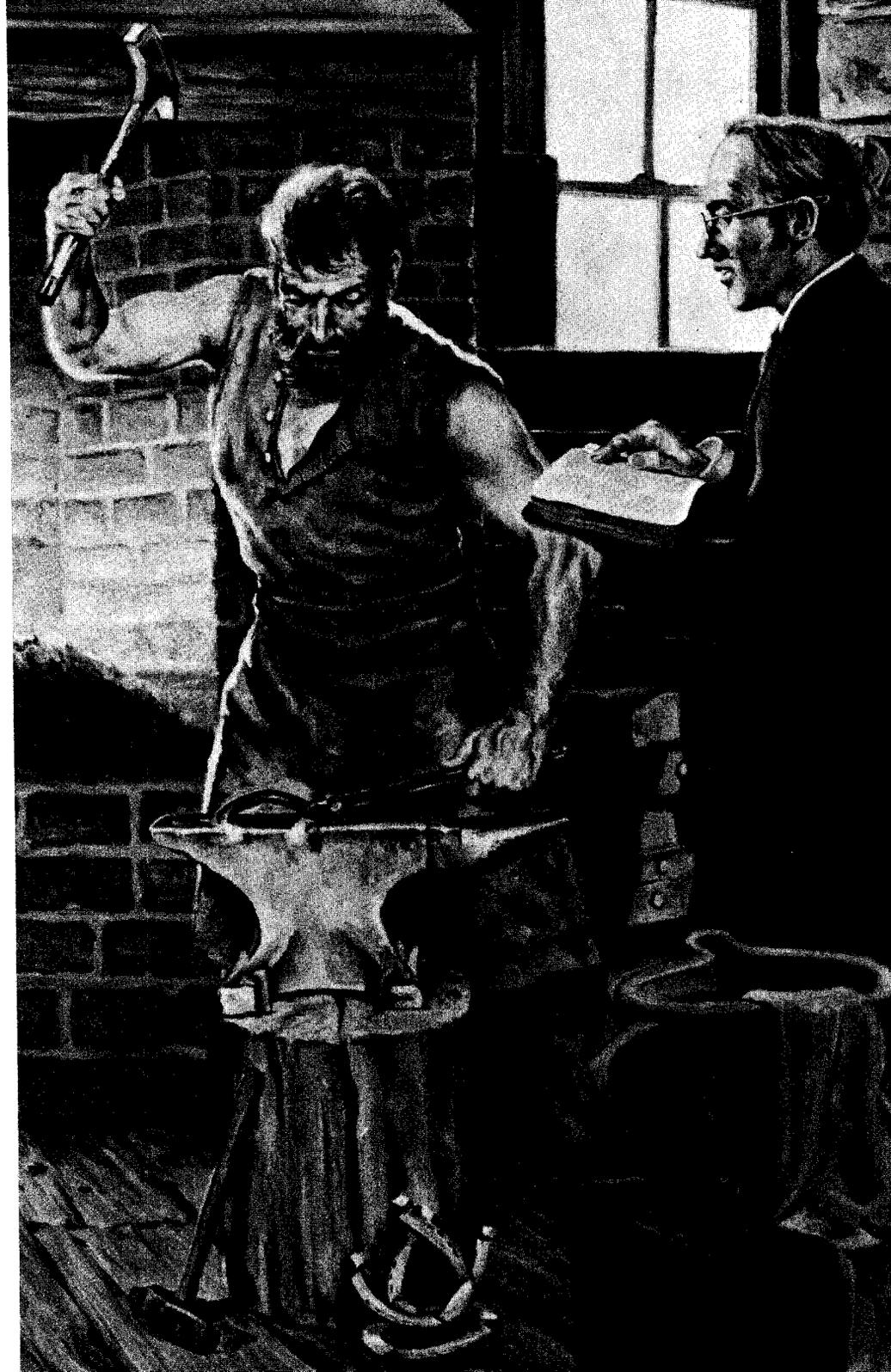
was always a faithful core of believers. A tent meeting, one of the earliest, was held in Canada in 1855 by A. S. Hutchins and C. W. Sperry.⁸ The field was also visited by James and Ellen White.

The somewhat intermittent labors in Canada of the brothers A. C. and D. T. Bourdeau, beginning soon after their conversion in 1856, were a strong influence in maintaining and extending the cause.⁹ The son-in-law of the former, Rodney S. Owen, who was to become a great power in Adventist ranks, began his labors here.¹⁰ Yet until the late 1870's there appears no great development of the Canadian field.

In the month of September, 1875, A. C. Bourdeau and R. S. Owen pitched a tent in West Bolton, Quebec. The next spring they gave a course of lectures in nearby South Stukely; as the result of these efforts what is called the first organized church in Canada, the Stukely and Bolton church, was formed on September 30, 1877.¹¹ John H. Hammond was chosen the first elder. This South Stukely church has been a sturdy pillar of the cause in Canada, producing some strong workers for the north country, the United States, and the world. Other churches were organized about this time, through vigorous prosecution of the work. Youth who grew up in Canada to give great contributions to the cause, there and elsewhere, include Walter J. Blake, George McCready Price, Malcolm N. Campbell, Clifton L. Taylor, and G. Eric Jones.

The first camp meeting in the Province of Quebec was held at Magog, in August, 1879. The following year, at a camp meeting on the same site, the first Canadian conference was formed, August 16, 1880. Elder George I. Butler, newly elected head of the General Conference, was present, and also Elder James White and Mrs. White. Elder A. C. Bourdeau was elected president, D. T. Bourdeau secretary, Andrew Blake treasurer.

Through the next two decades the cause in Canada maintained and somewhat advanced its status. In 1899 a second conference, the Ontario, was organized. The South Stukely



Select School was opened in 1885. As the only recorded church school in Canada before 1903, it developed through the years some fine young workers. Successive teachers in it were Mary Cushing, Edith Pierce, Rowena Purdon, and W. J. Blake. Further educational work and the medical work waited upon the new century, a period that belongs to a subsequent volume of this history.

In the summer of 1849, when the gold rush to California was on, Joseph Bates also went West; but he went to find a purer gold in the souls of men. His gold fields were in the near Northwest. Michigan had nearly four hundred thousand inhabitants by that time, and among them were not a few Second Advent believers. Bates heard that at Jackson, mid-State in the south, there were about twenty of these, who held regular meetings. Accordingly, to Jackson he went, and within a few days he brought out a "band" (they would not call them churches in those early antiorganization days), the first Seventh-day Adventist church in the near West. The first communication from a Jackson convert is that of J. C. Bowles,¹² who was active for some time in helping the messengers on their ways and reporting their movements, and who also himself taught in Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.

But the first and most prominent of Bates's converts there was Dan R. Palmer, a blacksmith who with his means was a mainstay in the early work in Michigan, and also the leader in the Jackson church. Bates found him at his forge, and preached his first sermon to the accompaniment of an anvil chorus; for Palmer was not much minded to listen, and would not stop his work. But very soon the message was beating in upon his mind with every hammer stroke. More and more frequent were his pauses while he considered this point and that; and at last, laying down the hammer, and stretching out his grimy hand, he said, "Brother—what did you say your name was?—Bates, you have the truth."¹³ And he invited him to meet the whole company the next Sunday, which he did. But in the meantime Bates visited other members to whom

Palmer directed him, and in the end all of them accepted the faith. On Sunday afternoon Palmer took Elder Bates by horse and buggy out into the country to see Cyrenius Smith,¹⁴ a farmer who had not been at the meeting. With equal speed Smith and his family were added to the number of believers; and thus half the foursome, who were later to furnish the backing for establishing the work at Battle Creek, were provided. The other half were Kellogg and Lyon, converts of Cornell and Bates three years later.

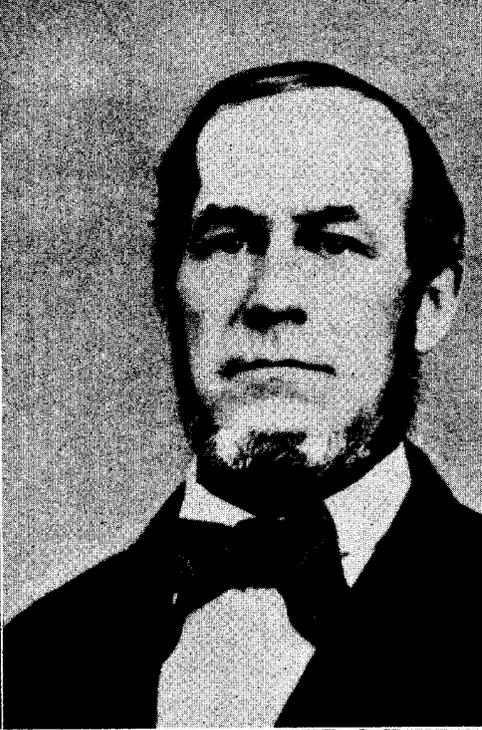
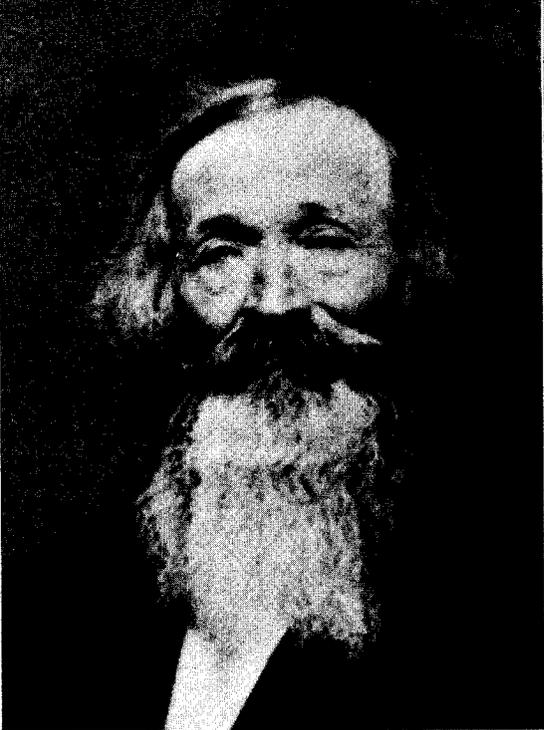
The second messenger into the West was Samuel W. Rhodes. Bates saw him on his return eastward, and fired his mettlesome soul with the romance of the spiritual frontier. In those days there was no organization; "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes." The field was wide and the laborers few and self-supporting; let them go where they would, they found virgin territory. So in the summer of 1850 Rhodes followed the trail of the older leader to Jackson, whence the faithful Bowles accompanied him 160 miles on his journey into Indiana, and then turned back. Rhodes went on to Illinois and Wisconsin, the first of our pioneers there. He writes (without naming places, but somewhere west of Milwaukee) of teaching and baptizing a family named Holcomb, one of whom dreamed beforehand of his coming ("Thank the Lord for dreams!" exclaims this beneficiary of dreams); of meeting a "Higgins from Maine . . . , with more animal magnetism than I have seen in anyone since the seventh month, '44"; and how "the blessed Lord palsied the influence of six or seven preachers, stood by poor unworthy me, in power, and took a few from the mouth of the lion."¹⁵

While in Michigan, Rhodes made excursions into new territory, and among his converts was Hiram S. Case, at North Plains. Case, it appears, had preached the message in 1844 in New York, and now, against the opposition of surrounding Adventists, took his stand for the Sabbath-and-sanctuary faith. He carried his family with him; and Samuel Rhodes speaks of his fourteen-year-old daughter, whose face at her baptism

"did truly shine, while her heart and mouth praised the Lord." Case was soon out preaching the message in Michigan, Ohio, New York, Illinois, and Wisconsin. At first he ran well, writing as well as preaching, and his labors were effective. But his heart was not deeply enough converted, and he became harsh and censorious to his brethren as well as to his opponents. Would that his impulsive spirit had been better disciplined to love, that the verdict of the Michigan brethren four years later might not have been: "It has become our painful duty in the fear of God and from the light of His Word, to say, that we no longer consider him qualified to travel and teach the third angel's message."¹⁶

Rhodes, returning through Michigan, was accompanied by Case as far as Detroit, visiting on the way Brother Guilford's family, who were "in an awfully dark place"; but "the eldest one confessed all the truth," and "several others came into the Sabbath."¹⁷ This was evidently the family of Silas Guilford, the brother-in-law of William Miller; and the "eldest one" was probably Irving, who was the boy sent on that August morning in 1831 to call the messenger of the Advent into the field.¹⁸ Silas Guilford, then living in Dresden, New York, on the shore of Lake Champlain, removed, according to the testimony of his younger son, Hiram S., to a farm near Oswego, and afterward, apparently, to Michigan.¹⁹ Rhodes visited Michigan and the West nearly every year thereafter.

Elder Bates returned to Michigan two years later, and again in 1852, visiting the companies he and others raised up, and preaching in new places. In this year 1852, while at Jackson, he heard of two families in Indiana whom he planned to visit; but by direction of the Spirit he got on the train for Battle Creek, a village fifty miles west, arriving early in the morning. There was impressed upon his mind the injunction to go to the post office as soon as it was open, and ask for "the most honest man in town." The postmaster, entering into the spirit of the question, and having a few days before had some Lincolnesque dealings with a certain traveling mer-



chant, named him, saying, "The most honest man in town is David Hewitt, a Presbyterian. He lives on Van Buren Street, near Cass. Cross the bridge over the Battle Creek; Van Buren is just above; follow it west."

Losing no time, Bates crossed the bridge and knocked at Hewitt's door. "I have been directed to you," he said to Hewitt, "as the most honest man in town. If this is so, I have some important truth to present to you."

"Be not forgetful to entertain strangers," quoted Hewitt to himself; "for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." To Bates he said, "Come in. We are just sitting down to breakfast. Eat with us, and we will then listen to you." During breakfast the most honest man was sizing up the most direct man, and his measurement was favorable. After breakfast he invited Elder Bates to conduct family worship; and when prayers were concluded, he said, "Now let us hear what you have to tell us."

Joseph Bates hung up his chart, which he carried as faithfully as the Londoner carries his umbrella, and "beginning at Moses and all the prophets," he discoursed with them until dinner on the whole Advent movement; for these, unlike Bates's previous audiences, were no Adventists, who knew all that history. Then in the afternoon, till five o'clock, he talked to them about the Sabbath and the third angel's message. "The most honest man in town," with his family, was convinced. It did not take a ten-week effort in those days to make a Seventh-day Adventist. David Hewitt kept the next Sabbath, and until the first little wooden church was built, two years later, his house was the meeting place of the company in Battle Creek. The next spring, May of 1853, James White, visiting there, said to the little group: "I am much impressed that if you are all faithful, there will yet be quite a company in Battle Creek."²⁰ Quite a company indeed there came to be; and Battle Creek was the headquarters of the work for more than half a century. There began the health work of the denomination, also the educational work; and there the

← PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

Upper: Cyrenius Smith and Dan Palmer, pioneer converts of Joseph Bates in Michigan. Lower: Home of Dan Palmer at Jackson, Michigan.

publishing work first achieved its independent, stable state.

It was doubtless somewhat of a surprise, even a shock, to Joseph Bates to bring a Presbyterian into the Adventist faith. In 1852, he was, with his brethren, still under the influence of the "shut-door" theory, which had hardly opened a crack to let in any but "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." None was more decided on this point than Bates. He had come into Michigan to find such Adventist brethren, and not any Methodist or Baptist or Presbyterian. But, as to Peter at Joppa, the Lord had instructed him not to reject whom God had chosen. When he left Jackson he did not know why he should stop at Battle Creek; when in Battle Creek, he did not know to whom he should go; but when he stood before David Hewitt, a Presbyterian, he had to speak the message that he knew. The result opened his eyes; it opened the eyes of James White and of the other workers back East. Like the brethren in Jerusalem, they said, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." ²¹

To this time and this event, the culmination of a series of liberalizing experiences, may be traced the complete abandonment of the "shut-door" doctrine. The year 1852 is thus marked as the changing point in an editorial by James White in 1854: "It is true that in 1850 we published statements of Wm. Miller, J. B. Cook, Joseph Marsh and others in which they gave it as their opinion that the door was shut, and that the harvest of the earth was ripe; but nothing of the kind can be found in any of our publications for the last two years." ²²

On his second and third Western trips, Bates went on into Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Later he labored also in Iowa. In the northwestern corner of Illinois, around Galena, a considerable body of settlers had been drawn primarily by the lead mines, worked in crude fashion by the Sac and Fox Indians before them. The land, however, was still the chief resource, and the most of the settlers were farmers. Here, on various short visits, Joseph Bates labored mightily in 1852-54,

encountering the opposition of preachers both Adventist and Methodist, who found their people listening too readily to the Sabbathkeeping ministers. Bates's work also extended to more southern counties of the western tier. Round Grove, in Whiteside County, became a settling place and center of Sabbathkeeping Adventists emigrating from Vermont and New Hampshire.

The Seventh Day Baptists, who had established a colony and school at Milton, Wisconsin, and who had scattered adherents elsewhere, were generally well disposed to these new advocates of the seventh-day Sabbath. One of their ministers, O. P. Hull, attending an Adventist conference at Albion, Wisconsin, and later the meetings in the Galena country, declared to Bates that he and his brethren could convince people of the legality of the seventh-day Sabbath, but they could not get them to move as the Sabbath Adventists did. He himself was favorably disposed, and took literature; but he remained a Seventh Day Baptist, and later conducted a discussion through the *Review* with J. H. Waggoner. However, the relations between Seventh Day Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists have always, for the most part, been friendly.²⁸

In 1855 Josiah Hart moved from Vermont to Round Grove, and took up a land claim. Like most other Adventist ministers of that time, he preached as he could and farmed to make expenses. With the exception of Elder Bates and Elder and Mrs. White, this was the experience of all the Sabbathkeeping laborers; and in the beginning they had their full share of it. There were some freehearted, consecrated men among their beneficiaries who gave liberally of their means, but more who took their service for granted; and the haphazard method of rewarding the preacher was far from reassuring. Not until 1859 was any systematic plan formed for support of the ministry, and not till 1879 was the tithing system fully adopted.

Joseph H. Waggoner was a Wisconsin convert in 1852, and shortly became one of the strong standard-bearers in the

cause. At about the same time Wisconsin produced as preachers J. M. Stephenson, D. P. Hall, Isaac Sanborn, and T. M. Steward, all of whom labored not only in that State but elsewhere. Upon the defection of Stephenson and Hall in 1855, Bates and Waggoner, with other faithful men, held the lines in Wisconsin, and built ever more strongly the structure of the church there.

Waggoner was, like David Hewitt, a non-Adventist (a Baptist) when the Sabbath-and-sanctuary truth came to him; and some questioned whether he could be admitted through the "shut door," a fact which was reflected in his later tract on the subject. He threw his tobacco into the stove on the day he accepted the Sabbath, and he stood with Joseph Bates as a strong advocate of temperate living. He was a great pedestrian too. An Indiana convert tells of Elder Waggoner's walking fifty miles²⁴ to bring him the message; a *Review and Herald* editorial mentions his walking ninety²⁵ miles on a preaching tour, for want of better conveyance; and he himself said he would walk a hundred miles to find one "Laodicean." Naturally, his shoes and his clothes wore out. One day in Michigan, in company with A. S. Hutchins, he called on a brother farmer whose barns were bursting with his harvest of wheat and oats.

"It's too bad for Brother Waggoner to go dressed like that," remarked the brother to Elder Hutchins.

"Well," said the latter, "I don't doubt he would dress better if he had any money."

"I'm awfully sorry for him," said the farmer.

"Are you sorry enough to sell some of your wheat or oats to get money to help him?"

"Well, wheat is only sixty-five cents a bushel, and oats thirty-five. They ought never to be sold for that."

"Brother, don't you think that back yonder, when the Lord told the people to take a lamb of the first year and burn it up, they thought that was too bad, and they would rather keep it a year or two, and get a fleece from it?"

"Well, I do feel sorry for Elder Waggoner; but I don't see how I can sell any of my grain to help him."

"How much would you give him if you had the money?"

"Oh, seven or eight dollars."

"I'll loan you the money," said Elder Hutchins, "as I happen to have a little; and when I need it I'll ask you for it."

So the deal was made; and probably when oats sold for fifty cents, the pledge was redeemed.²⁶

Michigan seemed the great attraction to the laborers of the 1850's. The settlers of that State, hewing their farms out of the woods, building their "crossways," or corduroy roads, across their swamps,²⁷ slithering through the deep snows of the winters, were even more of the pioneering spirit than the settlers of other States under somewhat more favorable conditions. They lived simply but in wilderness abundance, and the open-mindedness and liberality of prominent men among them soon brought Michigan to the forefront, the empire of the faith moving ever westward: Maine to Vermont, to New York, to Michigan.

J. N. Andrews followed Bates and Rhodes in the development of the Michigan field, his first visit being in 1851. J. N. Loughborough first went to Michigan in May, 1853, and during the next three years spent considerable time in this State, strengthening that which had already been built and raising up new churches. James and Ellen White followed Loughborough in two or three weeks, this being the first time they had ever been west of Buffalo. Elder White was well known among the new believers as the editor of their paper, the *Review and Herald*, a leader standing shoulder to shoulder with Elder Bates; and he and his wife were given a warm welcome in Michigan. John Byington also came from New York, and labored in the State two or three years before his removal there. Severe trials were just ahead of the Sabbathkeeping brethren in Michigan, but their faith and vigor proved strong, and they moved sturdily toward the climax, their invitation in 1855 to build the new headquarters.

Ohio, then the most prosperous of the lake States, and which must be crossed in its northern portion by those going into Michigan or west, was not wholly neglected, though it did not at first receive the extensive work which Michigan invited. It appears probable that Joseph Bates, in passing through the northern part of the State, stopped off, as his custom was, where he found a family or several who had gone through the experience of 1844, and thus created islands of interest. In 1851 there appeared in the *Review* a letter from J. B. Sweet, of Milan, a little town on the southern edge of Erie County, and another from George Smith, of Norwalk, just south in Huron County, expressing gratitude for help.²⁸ Shortly afterward a letter from M. L. Bauder, of Cleveland, tells of the infection of the Second Advent (first-day) believers there, with the "spiritual union" virus, which the editor takes the opportunity to rebuke.²⁹

In response J. N. Andrews made a trip through Ohio in November of that year, from Cleveland to Cincinnati, stopping at Milan and Norwalk and other places, then going on into Indiana and Michigan. He laments the fallen state of the Second Advent church which Charles Fitch left in Cleveland, and the church in Cincinnati where Miller and Enoch Jacobs wrought, their large church buildings sold and their companies torn with dissension. However, in these places he left some representatives of the Sabbath faith.

The next year Joseph Bates spent considerable time in Ohio. The little company at Milan was from beginning to end a staunch outpost of the faith, as was Lovett's Grove, where arose Joseph Clarke, mighty with pen and voice, and Oliver Mears, a farmer-preacher who ranged the State in his lumber wagon, building up the work. Many truehearted ones were recovered by Bates at Cleveland and Cincinnati, and many more bands were established throughout the State.

An interesting incident occurred when at Perkins, Joseph Bates met an old sea captain who had been a fellow prisoner-of-war with him in Dartmoor Prison in the War of 1812. He

had become a Universalist, but now he seemed quite interested in his former prison mate's teaching; and at noon as he passed, Bates asked him, "Captain, will you have some of the books?" "No," said he, "I don't want no books, but I calc'late to hear you through." In the evening, as the meeting closed, the old captain crowded up among others, exclaiming, "Let me have some of them books!" And he went out well supplied.

J. N. Loughborough labored much in Ohio in 1852 and later; G. W. Holt and H. S. Case were likewise workers in the State, which finally became a vigorous conference, and in later times furnished strong workers in all lines. The ninth president of the General Conference, George A. Irwin, came from Ohio. Only five men had held the office before him.

Indiana likewise received the ministrations of prominent laborers, from its initial entry by Rhodes and Bowles through the ministrations of Andrews, Bates, Loughborough, Waggoner, Cornell, and others. The little company at Salem Center, where Rhodes and Bowles first preached, endured much persecution. They were accustomed to meet in the house of Mrs. Foxe, a widow with several children. One night a mob began to break up their meeting. They stoned the house, and sought to drive the people from the meeting, when they too would have been stoned. To effect this, one man climbed to the roof, with a board to place over the chimney, to "smoke 'em out." But he slipped and fell off the roof, breaking his neck. That ended the assault. Grandma Foxe in later years was wont to declare that "an angel pushed him off."³⁰

The New England States and New York were yielding thousands of their citizens to the peopling of the West, and among the emigrants were some of the Sabbathkeeping brethren, who answered to James White's advice to go West to strengthen the new cause and to hold up their light in unoccupied country. The departure of some of the strong laborers of these States to quite an extent depleted the working force of the East, to the benefit of the West. Mrs. White wrote: "It requires much more power to move the people in the East

than in the West, and at present but very little can be accomplished in the East. . . . Tenfold more has been accomplished in the West than in the East with the same effort, and . . . the way is opening for still greater success. . . . When the message shall increase greatly in power, then the providence of God will open and prepare the way in the East for much more to be accomplished than can be at the present time." ²¹

Among such westward-bound pilgrims were E. P. Butler and his family, of Waterbury, Vermont; and the Edward Andrews and Cyprian Stevens families of Paris, Maine, who all settled in the northeast of Iowa at Waukon; Elon Everts, who settled in Illinois, and Josiah Hart likewise; Washington Morse and family, who settled first near Chicago, but later went on to Minnesota; John Byington, who left New York for Michigan; and many others of less note. The great westward move came during and after the event to be related in the next chapter, when the headquarters was transferred to Michigan; and with it went the *Review and Herald* force: James and Ellen White, Uriah Smith, and their co-workers. J. N. Andrews and J. N. Loughborough followed later. In 1858 Joseph Bates removed his home from Fairhaven, Massachusetts, to Monterey, Michigan, still for all his remaining fourteen years to give vigorous service in counsel and in pastoral work.

The northern part of the Middle West, in the 1850's, became the center of the Seventh-day Adventist work, so to continue for half a century, and always to remain a stronghold of the cause. In those days the chief cities of the West were still of moderate size—Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Milwaukee—and were closely tied in with the social and religious as well as the economic life of the country about them. The Adventists worked in these cities as well as in the towns and country; but the most significant progress was made among the country people. In consequence, the constituency of the early Seventh-day Adventist Church was composed chiefly of the sturdy, reliable, confident, and

resourceful people of rural and pioneer stock. Out of it came the leaders who have most definitely molded and impressed the work of the church up to the present time.

The West, the young West, eager, enterprising, generous, gave of its strength to the Second Advent cause.

¹ References on Canada were supplied by the research of C. L. Taylor; and voluminous minutes of church and conference meetings, which contain much interesting material denied record here by lack of space, were furnished by G. Eric Jones.

² J. Lindsey, *Advent Review*, Aug., 1850, vol. I, no. 1, p. 13; *Review and Herald*, Nov. 27, 1860, p. 15, obituary, Esther Lindsey.

³ Joseph Bates, *Review and Herald*, Jan. 13, 1852, p. 80.

⁴ George W. Holt, *Present Truth*, November, 1850, vol. I, no. 11, p. 85; D. C. Corcoran, *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 15; Henry J. Shears, *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1852, pp. 57, 58.

⁵ *Review and Herald*, July 22, 1852, p. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1852, p. 102.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1851, p. 24; Sept. 16, 1852, p. 80.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1855, p. 88.

⁹ J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 219; *Review and Herald*, March 1, 1870, p. 85; March 12, 1872, p. 110.

¹⁰ *Review and Herald*, Aug. 17, 1916, p. 16; June 14, 1917, p. 23.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1934, p. 21, obituary, Needham; notes from minutes of church and conference meetings in Canada.

¹² *Present Truth*, no. 4, September, 1849.

¹³ Related to me by my mother.

¹⁴ My father's uncle.

¹⁵ *Present Truth*, no. 11, November, 1850, pp. 84, 85. From the obituary of the eldest daughter of Worcester and Polly Holcomb, by W. Phelps (*Review and Herald*, Feb. 6, 1855), it appears that her residence was in Troy, Walworth County, Wisconsin, and her parents lived near by.

¹⁶ *Review and Herald*, April 18, 1854, p. 102.

¹⁷ *Present Truth*, no. 11, November, 1850, pp. 84, 85.

¹⁸ See F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 41-43; A. W. Spalding, *Pioneer Stories*, (1842 ed), pp. 40-49.

¹⁹ See Appendix.

²⁰ J. N. Loughborough in *Review and Herald*, July 26, 1923.

²¹ Acts 11:18.

²² *Review and Herald*, July 4, 1854, p. 173.

²³ See Appendix.

²⁴ *Review and Herald*, Jan. 20, 1853, p. 142.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1852, p. 120.

²⁶ J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 214.

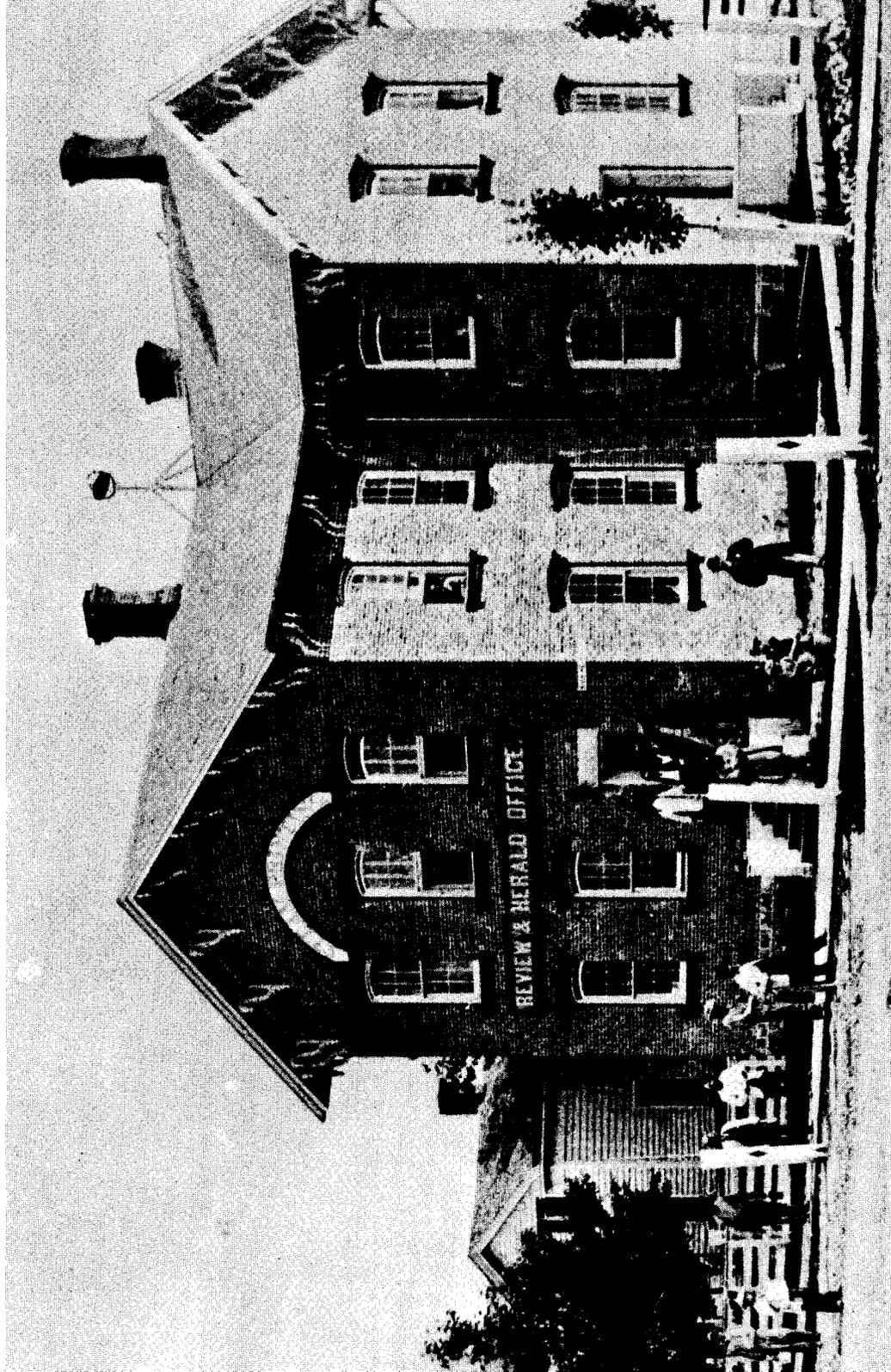
²⁷ See Appendix.

²⁸ *Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1851, p. 36; Dec. 23, 1851, p. 66.

³⁰ Related to me by Mrs. Ella Foxe, a daughter-in-law, at Coopersville, Michigan, July 15, 1946.

³¹ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 146-149.



REVIEW & HERALD OFFICE.

CENTERING IN BATTLE CREEK

THE little town of Battle Creek, ringed by Michigan's green hills, and with a necklace of blue lakes, large and small, bade fair in her infancy to be, as she was later known, "The Queen City of Michigan." It was but a village in the 1850's, with two thousand people around the Kalamazoo River and the Battle Creek—a stream named from an early brush of a party of surveyors with hostile Pottawottomi Indians. As in most towns which became manufacturing centers, the potential water power first attracted settlers. The Kalamazoo, with a general westward course, here in its winding holds a northward trend, till, sharply turning again to the west, it receives at its elbow from the east, the Battle Creek. From its direction and size the Battle Creek might be thought the main stream; but doubtless this was not so in the beginning, because now the millrace above empties much of the Kalamazoo into it, and so swells its volume. Here, on the tongue of land between them, the town was born in 1831-36, and by mid-century had crossed both its streams and was climbing the low hills on every hand.

Here dwelt David Hewitt, on the north side of the river, in 1852, when Joseph Bates found and enlisted him. A faithful man, and much respected, Hewitt inspired confidence in the cause he had espoused. Two years later Loughborough and Cornell held, on the southeast corner of Van Buren and Tompkins streets, the first tent meeting—that is, the first evangelistic series of meetings in tents—which the Seventh-day Adventists ever staged.¹ A goodly company came from this effort to join the little band of Battle Creek believers, and soon they built, on Cass Street, their first little battened meetinghouse, 18 by 24 feet. Later a larger frame building was erected on Van Buren Street, just around the corner from Cass. Here some

of the most important gatherings of the early years occurred. A third church was built about 1866 on Washington between Main and Van Buren, the site later (1879) of the great brick tabernacle, which seated three thousand persons.²

Merritt Cornell, the purchaser of the first evangelistic tent and the co-laborer of Loughborough in the first effort, liked Battle Creek so much that, being foot free, he brought his wife Angie to live there while, like all the Adventist preachers not bound to farm or business, he ranged through the widening field. Angeline Lyon Cornell was a fit companion to her husband, a slender young woman of energy, initiative, and decided opinions which happily comported with her husband's, and with a gift of speech which shows in her early letters to the *Review and Herald*. There was no provision then for the regular payment of preachers, still less for their wives to accompany them; yet Angie Cornell was much with her husband in his labors, often remaining to visit and teach the interested ones after his meetings had closed and he had gone to the next place.³ She was, indeed, the pioneer and the exemplar of today's Bible instructors and pastor's assistants. Shortly her father, Henry Lyon, sold his farm at Plymouth, in order to have money to invest in the cause; and he and his wife moved to Battle Creek to be near their daughter. He took up the carpenter's trade to support his family.

There were four men in Michigan, of whom Henry Lyon was one, who built the financial platform for the transfer of the denominational headquarters to that State. When Joseph Bates met them in Jackson in 1852, he remarked that all of them except "the first named" [Henry Lyon] were "professed public teachers, and feel the burden of the third angel's message."⁴ Henry Lyon may not have been a public teacher; though if his daughter Angie was a sample, the gift ran in the family (perhaps through his wife); but he was evidently a man of vision and of executive ability. When James White visited Michigan in 1853, and gave the modest suggestion at Battle Creek that if the brethren were faithful, they might create quite a com-

pany to represent the cause in that village, he had not yet reckoned with Henry Lyon.

It was a year later⁵ when Lyon came to Battle Creek, five years before its incorporation as a city. He kept his eye on the work of God, and judiciously gave of his means to it. His mind was busy with plans for its extension; and in consultation with his energetic son-in-law he conceived the idea of bringing its headquarters west. As his town grew in every direction, Henry Lyon, working at his trade, saw its extension northwest in his own section, and he said, "Why not Battle Creek?"

By the time the Whites visited Michigan again, in April of 1855,⁶ the plan was perfected. Lyon had consulted with Dan R. Palmer, the blacksmith of Jackson, and with Cyrenius Smith and J. P. Kellogg. The last named had been his country neighbor, who sold his farm soon after Lyon did, and moved to Jackson, where he engaged in the making of brooms. Smith likewise sold his place, and moved to Battle Creek about the time of the transfer, and Kellogg came later; but Palmer stayed in Jackson. However, the four made up a fund of \$1,200, even shares from each; and with this the brethren in Michigan proposed to James White to purchase land and erect a building in Battle Creek for the printing plant and publishing office of the *Review and Herald*.

It was an offer which appealed to James White. He had begun the publishing work with no capital but faith; he had carried it from place to place where his pilgrim steps had gone; he had borne it on his heart while traveling and preaching and writing, often bowed down under sickness and misfortune. He had more than once declared to his brethren that he could no longer carry it, and they had responded, according to their lights and their ability, by helping him. But there was no organization; that had been beyond their ken and against the prejudice of many of them. White had owned no property; the publishing business had begun in an attic and continued in his rented homes, with hired printers, until the purchase of a press and its location in Rochester, but still only in leased

quarters. Now the Michigan brethren proposed not only to build a home for the paper, but to stand behind it with their counsel and cooperation and money. Not yet did they see the way clear to incorporation of the business; that was to come later. But their sturdy shoulders were put to the wheels; and James White, with his brethren and co-workers, accepted gladly.

This twelve-hundred-dollar gift is a landmark in Seventh-day Adventist history. Small as it may now appear, it was great in proportion to the resources of the people then; and, if we except Edson's advancement of funds for the first press, it was the primary constructive effort in the building of a world-wide work. Nor was it the gift more than the vision which counted. The publishing work had been a ship on the tides of time; the Michigan men and White by this act anchored it at a little shipyard, where the hammers clanged and the booms swung over a gospel craft that was to sail the seas.

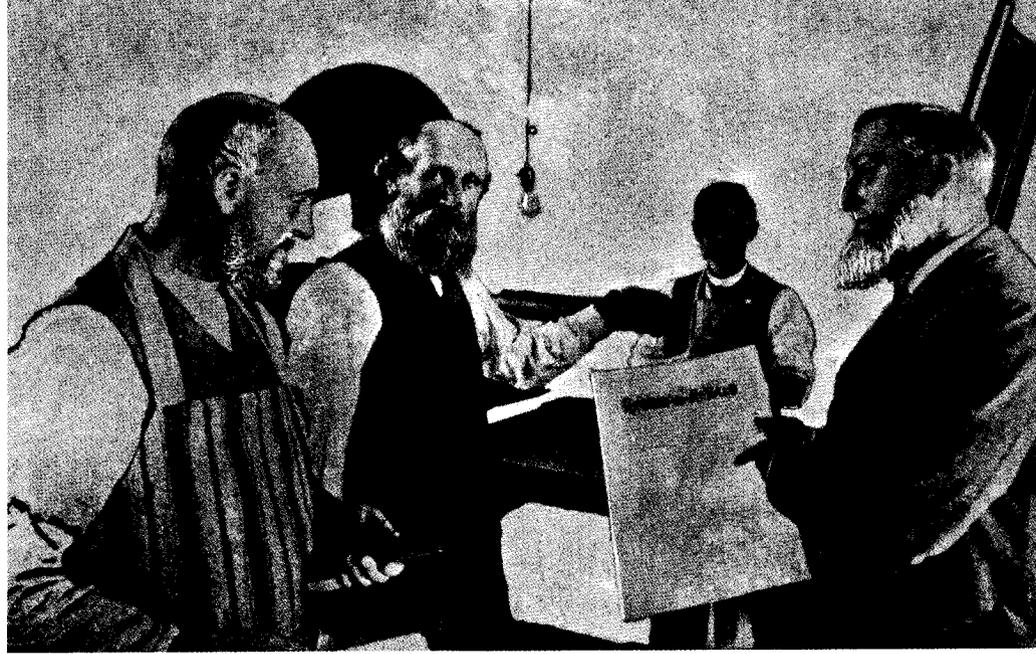
It is to be recorded that at the same time the brethren in the East, particularly in Vermont, made an offer to perform the same office for the *Review and Herald*; but with the nation facing and moving westward, it appeared that the Middle West was more promising than the little mountain State: and once it was decided, the Vermont believers and all New England endorsed the move, and put themselves earnestly to the task of effecting it. They were in the current of American destiny; and although New England suffered, as well in the Advent cause as in the national, from the draining of its resources of man power and capital, it was to build the whole work more securely. And after many years the seed they cast upon the flowing tide returned to them a hundredfold in bread of service.

Crossing the bridge over the Battle Creek, Main Street (now Michigan Avenue) turns sharply to the left, up a slight hill, and, running parallel with the river, passes on to the west country. From the west and into town it follows an old Indian trail. In the 1850's though the town was platted west to Wood

Street, this street or road was sparsely settled, and open woods flanked it on both sides. A quarter of a mile along, on a level, the road bisected another new and equally raw street named Washington, which ran north to the crown of the hill, between the residences of Erastus Hussey and Judge Benjamin F. Graves, of the Michigan Supreme Court. Hussey was a Quaker, a prosperous merchant, and for a time mayor of the city. He was a strong Abolitionist, and one of the founders of the Republican Party, being the presiding officer in the Jackson convention of 1854, where that party was born. The grounds and residence of Judge Graves afterward became the site of the Battle Creek Sanitarium; and the grounds of Hussey, those of the Battle Creek College.

This West End, indeed, had been designed by the founders, chief of whom was Sands McCamly, to be the center of the city, and a grassy square was laid out for a commons, McCamly Park, around which it was intended the city should establish its public buildings and stores. But McCamly's development of the water power on the land which is now the business center drew all enterprises and early residences there; and it remained for the Adventist enterprises, beginning some twenty years later, to develop this part of the city. The Review and Herald came to be on the south of the park, and the tabernacle on the west, while the sanitarium and the college were two blocks north.⁷

On the southeast corner of West Main and Washington, opposite McCamly Park, the brethren purchased a lot, and thereon erected a two-story frame building, 20 by 30 feet. This was the first permanent home of the periodicals, *Review and Herald* and *Youth's Instructor*, and of tracts, pamphlets, and books that swelled the infant literature work. The little house served for several years, until the work demanded larger quarters, when, anticipating the erection of a large brick building, 26 by 66 feet, on the same ground, in 1861, the little wooden structure was moved down the slope toward the river, on the same property. It had afterward the honor of housing



George Amadon, L. O. Stowell, J. W. Bacheller, and Uriah Smith around the first Battle Creek press, moved from Rochester, N.Y., in 1855.

the first advanced school of Seventh-day Adventists, under Prof. G. H. Bell; then it became the carpenter shop of Bucht and Ashley, and, escaping the fire of 1902, was afterward lost to knowledge.

Meanwhile more land had been acquired. The first brick building of 1861 was duplicated in 1871 by a building on the opposite corner of Washington and Main; and an addition to this later housed the offices of the General Conference and Mission Board. In 1873 a third building was erected east of the first, and five years later the two were joined by a central structure of three stories, to which height, by 1887, the whole building was raised. In 1881 a considerable addition was made to the rear. And thus the plant grew, coming to do all the work of an up-to-date publishing company, from editorial offices and art department to composition, press, engraving, platemaking, embossing, and binding, at that time the largest and most complete plant in the State.

It was in April, 1855, that the offer was made and accepted to move the office from Rochester, New York, to Battle Creek. By fall the transfer was complete, and the first number of the *Review and Herald* to be published there was volume 7, number 10, December 4, 1855. The publishing committee was Henry Lyon, Cyrenius Smith, and D. R. Palmer. Uriah Smith was the resident editor, beginning his long service in that capacity; J. N. Andrews, James White, J. H. Waggoner, R. F. Cottrell, and Stephen Pierce were corresponding editors.

Thus James White was relieved of a heavy burden, to bear yet heavier responsibilities. He was the leader. Though he should put off the garments of authority, though he should sit in the humblest pew, still the congregation would turn toward him for guidance and help. Joseph Bates, it is true, was equally a pioneer with him, equally a discoverer of foundation truths, equally assiduous in evangelism, and more than his equal in the opening of new fields and in advancing the message.

Nor was Bates lacking in executive ability. In those days, when the whole Adventist world was hypersensitive to the suggestion of organization, when they were, in Bates's frequent phrase, as "scattered sheep upon the mountains," he was diligent in searching them out and binding them together in "bands." His influence with them was supreme; the disciples wept when he left them. And when the brethren came together in conferences, if Father Bates was there, he was sure to be their presiding officer. Indeed, when at last, in 1860, the brethren came to a mind to organize, Joseph Bates it was who sat in the chair and guided the conference. But, on the whole, Bates was not well fitted to stay at any headquarters. He was the rover, the restless evangelist, who must press on and on, a field officer of the Custer, Jeb Stuart, Patton type, superb in leading, but always at the front, with his followers trailing. Furthermore, age began to tell upon him, though in truth he bore his years better than any of his fellow workers.

James White, on the other hand, though ardent in temperament, and perhaps by preference a warrior on the field, yet

had, or developed by necessity, a gift for pertinacity and for sound judgment in the enterprises to which he was fatefully committed; and he was thereby held more closely to whatever headquarters there were. Yet he went into the field also. He not only planned the strategy; he fought. In every engagement with the enemy and for every cause that promoted the advancement of truth, he was a general after the order of Gustavus Adolphus and Stonewall Jackson, and all the army of believers looked to him for command.

He was directed by the Spirit to begin publishing, and to continue publishing; and though he sometimes fainted under the burden he faltered little, and he was encouraged and strengthened to keep on. He started with nothing; he often wrought, it seemed, with nothing; yet out of his labors and the labors of those he led, great enterprises evolved. He came to be recognized in Battle Creek and in Michigan as one of its soundest business managers. Those were years of irresponsible banking practices; there was then and for two generations afterward no Federal insurance, and many a depositor—individual, corporation, or government—suffered often from bank failures. Time and again, except for James White's keen perception, informed sometimes by divine warnings, the precious funds of the forming church and its one institution would have been lost.

But more than as business manager, James White was looked to by his brethren as a sound counselor and an inspiring leader. His advice and judgment were sought in every enterprise. As the publishing house was followed, in a few years, by the development of the health institution, and then by the training school, James White's voice swayed the people and tipped the balance. There were many dark days, days that sent him and his wife to their knees, almost despairing. But there they found courage and hope and cheer. And when they came out to see their brethren, also bent down under the weight of needs and lack of means and plans which it seemed could not be straightened out, then, when shoulders sagged and heads

bowed down, James White called to his wife, "Come, Ellen, let us sing for them." And standing up together, they sang:

"When faint and weary toiling,
The sweat drops on my brow,
I long to rest from labor,
To drop the burden now;
There comes a gentle chiding,
That stills each mourning sigh:
'Work while the day is shining;
There's resting by and by:

Hearts were cheered by the inspiring song, and heads were uplifted, and voices joined in a grand chorus:

"Resting by and by,
There's resting by and by:
We shall not always labor,
We shall not always cry,
The end is drawing nearer,
The end for which we sigh;
We'll lay our heavy burdens down;
There's resting by and by."^s

In all this burden bearing James White was blessed with a wonderful wife. Had not the special unction of the Holy Spirit in revelations been given to her, she still would have been one of the most worthy mates with whom man may be blessed. But as an inspired spokesman in times of difficulty and doubt, as a cheering companion whose faith and confidence seldom failed, she was invaluable not only to her husband, the leader, but to the church that was forming under their hands.

Her industry was unsurpassed. At home she was the devoted mother, and her practical wisdom in the training of children and in the affairs of the household was in evidence. Yet on her always rested the burden of the churches, and many were the nights passed almost wholly in writing the messages divinely taught her. In it all she was the student, who drew her daily strength from the Word of God, and constantly added to her knowledge by her wide reading. Then she wrote, wrote volumes, the deep insight and the poignancy of which thrill multitudes



yet today. How she crowded so much into so busy a life can be understood only when we know her complete consecration and her refusal of all that was trifling and worthless and untrue. She traveled almost everywhere with her husband, and besides bearing her special messages to the weary and the wavering and the recreant, she carried more and more of the burden of exhortation in public address. To James White she held with singular grace and love the double office of wife and messenger of God.

They had at this time three sons: Henry, eight years old; Edson, aged six; and Willie, an infant of one year. In their early experience, Elder and Mrs. White had been compelled to leave the first two, and especially Henry, with others; yet at their infrequent meetings the affection of the boys for their parents overflowed in joy; and when in Rochester it had been possible to bring the little family together again, there was formed a family circle idyllic in its harmony. Even so young, Henry and Edson rejoiced in song, and music flowed forth from the White household. Up to his sixteenth year, when he died, Henry, "our sweet singer," improved every opportunity for perfecting himself in instrumental and vocal music; and James Edson revealed the talent that in later life made him a composer and publisher of hymns. Not that they were angels; they had their very human angles. But the parental love and discipline showed finally their fruits.

William C., then a baby, was to prove through a long life the worthy son of a noble father and the strong supporter of his mother through her later years. A fourth son, Herbert, was born in 1860, but died in infancy. Though they together must be away from their home far more than any other of the workers, Elder and Mrs. White made their family life ideal in its orderings and its results. James White himself was a lover of children and youth, as he early showed in his ministry, and as was evident in his writing and establishment of the children's and young people's paper, the *Youth's Instructor*. No other phase of the church work is more strongly

Elder James White, far-sighted leader of the early Advent believers, with his wife Ellen, chosen messenger of the Lord, and two of their sons, James Edson and William C.

emphasized in the lives as well as the writings of these devoted servants of God than that of the Christian home.

It would be incorrect and futile to present the Sabbath-keeping Adventists of that time as faultless in conduct and perfect in loyalty and support. When has that ever been true of any church? The apostolic church had its Ananias and Sapphira, its Elymas, its Diotrefes, its Demas, and its flinching John Mark, happily recovered; and every age and every epoch has repeated the types. There were loyal, stouthearted laymen in the Advent Movement, and there were comrades in the ministry tried and true; there were also vacillating, mean, critical men among the laity, and some leaders who proved traitors and character assassins in the battle. But it is our joy to contemplate the men and women, little and great, who, loyal and true, struck their hands to the covenant, formed their lives according to the pattern, commanded their households after them, and formed more and more that solid body which in good times and bad supported the leaders whom God chose.

Some of them at times needed and received correction. Even Moses endured disaffection and disloyalty in his own family, and great though the services of Aaron and Miriam were, they at times merited the rebuke of God. It is a mark of God's love when He rebukes and chastens. Few were the men who then or later came to bear responsibility in this church who never received messages of reproof and counsel. They who accepted it were blessed in spirit and in power.

Great leaders grew up in the work in the years that followed settlement in Battle Creek. And great followers. The work expanded, its needs increased, and the calls for help were always urgent. When the Washington hand press, inherited from the Rochester establishment, no longer sufficed for the growing demands of the printing plant in Battle Creek, a call was made for money to purchase a power press, and after that a steam engine to run it. There were no rich men among the believers, but those who had some means and those who

had almost none responded gladly, and the equipment was bought and put to work.

The spirit of the givers is reflected in the case of a farmer near Battle Creek, Richard Godsmark, whose work stock, as with many of his neighbors, consisted of a yoke of oxen. He had no money to give, but, eager to have a part, he sold the pair and gave the proceeds for the press. And every time he stumped to town in his cowhide boots he made sure to go by the printing office, and, stopping to listen to the roar and clack of the power press, he would exclaim gleefully, "Buck and Bright are pullin' away; they're pu-u-ullin' away!"

Like a tree planted by the rivers of water, bringing forth its fruit in its season, the leaves of which wither not, and whatsoever it does shall prosper, so the publishing house of the Sabbathkeepers, planted by the clear-flowing streams of Michigan, thrived and prospered. In the city streets of the East it had fought for breath and breadth, and it had not perished; but now, on the edge of the forest wilderness, it had room and nourishment, and it grew and brought forth fruit in abundance.

The relations of the seventh-day people and the other citizens of Battle Creek were harmonious and cooperative. The West End, from the Battle Creek north to the Spring Lakes and west unlimited, fell to the lot of the Adventists; also, to a great extent, the southern hills and prairie to Lake Goguac, the charming resort of Battle Creek from earliest times. In all civic matters the Adventist community stood high as valuable citizens—sober, industrious, honest, law abiding—and a unit for temperance. In return, the non-Adventist body of citizens, always greatly in the majority, were cooperative and open-minded, giving liberty of conscience and indulgence in Sunday labor at a time when the nation was becoming sensitive on that subject. Adventists on principle kept out of politics, but the Battle Creek members paid due attention to civic duties, having representatives on the city council, and at one time a Seventh-day Adventist mayor.

Their rising strength and economic worth became increasingly evident as their publishing house grew to be the largest in the State, their sanitarium unique and famous throughout the world, their educational institutions in theology and medicine noteworthy; and their world-wide connections as the work swelled were a definite asset to the reputation of the little Michigan city.⁹ The impress made on the public mind in that last half of the nineteenth century remains still in great degree; and the name, *Battle Creek*, rising above its cockpit significance, registers the ideal of the self-controlled, temperate, ministrative, philanthropic life and mission.

Even though the industrial output of the city, in manufactures of a wide variety, exceeded manyfold that of the Adventist community; and though for nigh half a century now the latter has been removed and distributed, with a thousandfold increase, throughout the world, leaving there only the not unworthy prepared-food industry as its offspring, the troubled world of today, when it speaks of Battle Creek, thinks not of war but of peace and the ministry of peace and plenty.

“Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water.”¹⁰

¹ See Appendix.

² Alma Wolcott (Mrs. G. W.) Caviness letter, Feb. 24, 1946. See Appendix.

³ James White in *Review and Herald*, March 8, 1860, p. 124.

⁴ *Review and Herald*, Sept. 2, 1852, p. 69. Although Bates does not mention Palmer and Smith, they were present, this being their home; the others were from away.

⁵ Compare letters from Lyon in *Ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1853, p. 173, and Dec. 26, 1854, p. 152.

⁶ Noted by James White in *Ibid.*, May 15, 1855, p. 228.

⁷ Smith N. Kellogg, an older half brother of Dr. J. H. Kellogg, testified in his eighty-seventh year (1898) that he helped set out the trees in the treeless park. (Scrapbook in Battle Creek Public Library, p. 92, clipping probably from the *Battle Creek Journal*.) John Preston Kellogg had five children by his first wife, and eleven by his second, Ann, the mother of J. H. and W. K. Kellogg.

⁸ W. A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Message*, p. 163.

⁹ Today with about 45,000 inhabitants.

¹⁰ Psalms 1:1-3.

A PROVIDENTIAL JOURNEY

COULD the river be crossed? Some said nay, some said maybe, but none said yea. It was in December, the winter of 1856-57. James and Ellen White were in northwestern Illinois, at Round Grove, the new home of Josiah Hart and Elon Everts, who had recently moved there from New England. Across the Mississippi River and in the northeastern corner of Iowa, two hundred miles away, lay Waukon, where lived a new colony of Sabbathkeepers who sorely needed help. But the weather was fickle, thawing, freezing, raining, snowing, and the ice on the great stream was like cheese. There were no bridges. Could the river be crossed?

The cause of the third angel had reached a crisis. Just when it seemed that a new lease of life had been extended to it; when the Michigan brethren had taken hold and driven the stakes in Battle Creek for a well-based, sound, and extensive work; when the dissident and discordant element represented in the Messenger party had faded out, and the Stephenson and Hall appendix to it had burst; when east and west the new faith seemed taking deeper root; when the editor declared they felt new courage because of increased subscriptions, developing truths, and the apparent opening of a new era;¹ just then the lines faltered. Some who had been foremost in the battle retired; their absence brought a feeling of discouragement in the ranks. There must be a rally, or all might be lost.

There were various causes for this state. One was increasing engrossment in temporal affairs. New England men were perforce frugal; their rocky fields said to them, "Conserve each grain, or you starve." And in general they conserved so well that they had grain to spare. But when the fertile fields of the Northwest opened up, and by their own impulse and

James White's encouragement some of the Sabbathkeeping brethren joined the migrating column, their thrifty souls reveled in the lush soils of the new lands, and in their happy plains of Moab they almost forgot the Canaan of promise. Wrote Mrs. White, "Those who moved to the West should be like men waiting for their Lord. . . . They should not lay up treasure upon earth, but show by their lives that they are laying up treasure in heaven. If God . . . called them to the West, He had a work for them to do—an exalted work—to let faith and experience help those who had not a living experience."²

Just then the Laodicean message began to sound.³ It was a trumpet of alarm. The ranks were being permeated with a foolish spirit of complacency. But whereas the seventh-day people had ascribed that message of Revelation 3:14-22 to their former brethren, the first-day Adventists, it was now turned upon themselves. "Thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." Many heard the trumpet notes, and in penitence acknowledged their fault, and turned with renewed energy to the fight. Thus Josiah Hart wrote: "I am now fully convinced that my course since I moved west has not been . . . calculated to shed a good influence on the side of truth. That is, my course . . . has gone to show that my affections were placed on the earth."⁴ From the same place in Illinois, James White wrote of morning worship in Brother Everts' home, where some, "seeking to be zealous and repent of past lukewarmness, felt that there was but little hope in their case," but "this morning's season [of prayer] closed with bright hopes."⁵

"Why don't the brethren who used to write, and others who can, write for the *Review*?" queried James White in the same number of the paper. "Too much is left for the Editor [Uriah Smith]. . . . Where are Brn. Pierce and Andrews? The inquiry goes round in the church, 'Why don't THEY Write?' " Why not, indeed? They were on the staff of corresponding

editors. But Brother Pierce had retired to Minnesota; and Brother Andrews, to Iowa.

Some of the Vermont brethren had moved to the prairies of Iowa; E. P. Butler was one, settling at Waukon. Some from Maine had gone West. Edward Andrews had migrated to Waukon in the fall of 1855. Their neighbors, the Cyprian Stevens family, followed them the next year, and others, until there were about thirty there. The climate was not more harsh than Maine's; the prairies were fertile; the settlers were new and eager; in the midst of frontier hardships hope for bucolic wealth ran high; and the families were drifting spiritually.

Another cause was ill-health. In May of 1855 James White, in the church paper, calls for a day of fasting and prayer, "in view of the want of faithful laborers in the wide harvest field; and, also, the feeble state of health of several who are now engaged in it."⁶ One of these, and the most prominent, was John N. Andrews. Of feeble constitution to begin with, he overtaxed himself in study and close application to writing and preaching, while, in common with the majority of people, he transgressed almost all the laws of health. In consequence he was a casualty. He said: "'In less than five years [after beginning his public ministry] I was utterly prostrated. My voice was destroyed, I supposed permanently; my eyesight was considerably injured; I could not rest by day, and I could not sleep well at night; I was a serious sufferer from dyspepsia; and . . . mental depression. . . . My brain, from severe taxation and from ignorance on my part of the proper manner of performing brain labor, had become much diseased. . . . It was only at times that I could perform mental labor to any extent.'" ⁷ Perhaps this is a sufficient answer to the inquiry: "Brother Andrews, why don't you write?" He retired to the home of his parents and of those who, very soon, became his parents-in-law. Possibly the romance had something to do with his decision; but Angeline Stevens, his bride, was a brave lass to undertake to hold back from the grave such a wreck as John

Andrews describes himself to have been. He took a clerkship in his uncle's store, but he also did considerable work on the farm, and lived in the open as much as possible.⁸

Still another cause was poverty of the ministers and lack of support. J. N. Loughborough tells of his working with W. S. Ingraham and R. F. Cottrell in New York and Pennsylvania in the summer of 1856. "Funds were not furnished very abundantly for tent work, therefore during haying and harvesting, we worked in the fields four and one half days each week, for which we received \$1 a day, holding tent-meetings over Sabbath and first-day of each week. In the fall, a settlement for our time with the tent was made, which was the first time that any of us had ever received a definite sum for our labor. Including what we had earned with the labor of our hands, Elder Ingraham and myself received enough to make up the sum of \$4 per week, while Elder Cottrell was paid \$3 per week for acting as tent-master and speaking occasionally."⁹

When the settlement had been made, John Loughborough's wife said, "This is too much"—not too much money, but too much hardship; "we can't live any longer in this way." Her husband's flagging spirits sank lower. Andrews, to whom he looked as a brother-in-arms, had left the field. Families in whom they had confidence were settling in the West, and writing encouragingly of the prospects both for farming and the trades. John Loughborough had been a cabinetmaker in his early life; and now he said, "Mary, let us go to Waukon, and I will make a living for us in carpentry, and as I can I will preach the message." So to Waukon they went. Thus two of the most prominent and capable of the workers, men in whom the Whites had great faith and on whom in a degree they leaned, made a breach in the circle of the leaders, although Loughborough protests that he "believed as firmly as ever in all points of the faith, and had the fullest confidence in all agencies connected with the work,"¹⁰ by which he means James White and the *Review* and Ellen G. White and the Spirit of prophecy.

The brethren at Waukon, early friends and supporters of the Whites, by some means had become estranged. They were just across the river from Wisconsin, where Stephenson and Hall the past year had ranged the country, speaking against Elder and Mrs. White and the *Review*, and where Bates and Waggoner and Sanborn had strenuously held the line. The Waukon brethren had not aligned themselves with that schism, but they were affected by it. Furthermore, their minds were enthusiastic about the prospects of gain in their new country. They bought more land, speculating on profits. Their increased holdings required more labor; they worked from dawn to dark, and when the Sabbath came they encroached upon its sacred hours, for their work pressed so hard. Their piety declined; their cupidity increased. They became critical and cold and unfeeling, forgetful of the past blessings of the Lord.¹¹ It was into this community of backsliding Adventists that John Andrews and John Loughborough came. Andrews was sick, Loughborough discouraged; and they were in no condition to man the dikes and stop the flood.

In Round Grove, Elder and Mrs. White spent several weeks, holding meetings, recovering and strengthening the brethren there. John Byington joined them, and called a conference of all Illinois believers there in November.¹² Everts and Hart took hold with renewed faith and enthusiasm. Mrs. White, in visions of the night, was shown the state of the brethren at Waukon, the darkness in which they walked, and their need of help; but she was not specifically directed to go there. Yet the knowledge of their need weighed upon her mind, and constituted a call. It was two hundred miles away, an exceedingly difficult and dangerous journey in that time of year; yet she could not rest until with her husband she decided to go.

It was then good sleighing weather; and Hart and Everts prepared to take them in a two-horse sleigh. Then it rained. It rained for twenty-four hours.

"We must give up the journey," said James White. Yet Mrs. White could not be satisfied with the decision.



"Sister White, what about Waukon?" asked Josiah Hart. She said, "We shall go."

"Yes," he replied, "if the Lord works a miracle."

Many times that night Mrs. White rose and went to the window to watch the weather. Must it rain and rain? Why would God say, "Go," and then open the sluices? She prayed, "Lord, if it be Thy will, give us a sign; change the weather." About daybreak there came the change: it turned colder and began to snow.

The next day, about 5 P.M., the Whites and Everts and Hart started in the sleigh, driving north. They reached Green Vale, a place not now on the map, and stopped to have a meeting with some brethren there. The snowstorm continued; it snowed for days, and the drifts piled up. They could not move for a week. Then they started again, and weary, cold, and hungry, they came to a hotel a few miles from the Mississippi River. The next morning it was raining again.

"Nevertheless we must go on," she said. And they rode under the drizzling rain, while the horses broke through the crusted snow at almost every step. Of everyone they met they inquired, "Can we cross the river?"

"No." "It's risky." "I'd never try it." "Some have tried it, and broken through." "You can't make it."

They came to the river. From bank to bank the weakened ice offered a treacherous foundation, and water a foot deep, from melted snows, covered it. Hart drew up his horses at the brink. Rising in the sleigh and lifting his whip hand, he cried, "Is it Iowa, or back to Illinois? We have come to the Red Sea: shall we cross?"

Mrs. White answered, "Go forward, trusting in Israel's God."

James White said, "Go on."

Cautiously they eased the sleds upon the ice, and with the water nearly up to the box they headed for the opposite shore, praying all the way. Ominously the water swirled about them, and the splash and plunk of their horses' feet echoed

← DRAWING BY KREIGH COLLINS

The crossing of the Mississippi on brittle ice with a team and sled to reach the isolated believers at Waukon, Iowa, was one of the memorable journeys of Elder and Mrs. James White.

the threat of breaking through. But on they went. Men gathered on the farther bank to watch them. They prayed.

At last they reached the Iowa shore, pulled up the bank, and were surrounded by congratulating strangers. "No money in the world would have tempted us to make that crossing," they said. "Several teams have already broken through, and the drivers barely escaped with their lives." But the God who parted the waters of the Red Sea for Israel had cemented the Mississippi River for their crossing.

It was Friday. They rode on that afternoon to within six miles of Dubuque, and finding a hotel, they stopped to spend the Sabbath day. That evening they gathered in the parlor, and sang songs of deliverance, songs of jubilee, songs of the Advent. The guests gathered around, urged them to sing more, asked questions. Elder Everts hung up his chart (every Adventist in those days carried a chart), and gave them a short lecture. They urged the party to return and hold meetings, promising a good congregation.

Sunday morning they started again on their journey. The capricious weather had turned once more; it was intensely cold. In an open sleigh they rode in zero weather, facing the prairie winds! "Brother, your face is freezing; rub on some snow." "Your nose is freezing." "Brother, your ear is white." They rode on, pulling their caps and shawls and robes closer, praying, encouraging, cautioning. For four days they rode, and on Wednesday evening they reached Waukon.

No one was glad to see them. Nearly all the Sabbathkeepers were sorry they had come. They had had a cold journey; they were met with a chilly reception. Satan had put his hand in among the company at Waukon, to mold their minds. They said, "The Whites have come. What now?" But Elder and Mrs. White were sure the Lord had sent them, and they took courage from the coldness of their brethren.

Nothing could quite freeze out the brotherliness of John Loughborough or of John Andrews; but they were troubled. They took the party in—Stevens and Andrews and others did.

And they answered: "Meetings? Why, yes, we can have some meetings, we suppose. You will have something to say?"

So they had a meeting the next evening. Who of them could resist the songs that the Spirit-filled mission party led—

"Lo! He comes with clouds descending
Once for favored sinners slain,
Countless angels Him attending,
Swell the triumph of His train;
Hallelujah!
Jesus comes, and comes to reign."

—the good old Advent songs that refreshed the memories and warmed the hearts of the brethren who had left their first love? Then the words of greeting and loving counsel from Hart, Everts, James White, and Sister White.

In the midst of the meeting Mrs. White was taken into vision. The power of God came down upon the company, to whom the memories of old flooded back. Everyone was constrained to acknowledge the power was of God. And the message she gave? "Return unto me," saith the Lord, "and I will return unto thee, and heal all thy backslidings. Tear down the rubbish from the door of thy heart, and open the door, and I will come in and sup with thee, and thou with me." I saw that if they would clear the way, and confess their wrongs, Jesus would walk through our midst with power."

In the stillness that followed, Mrs. Loughborough arose, she who had said to her husband, "John, this is too much." In clear, decided tones she said: "Brother and Sister White, I thought we had gotten away where you could not find us; but I am glad you have come. I have been wrong. I have sinned, and I have made my husband to sin. God forgive me! I clear away the rubbish. I open the door of my heart. Lord Jesus, come in!"

As she made confession, the floodgates of heaven seemed suddenly opened, and the power of God came down. The meeting held until past midnight, and a great change was effected.

The next day the meeting began where it had left off the previous night. All who had been blessed then retained the blessing. They had slept little, for the Spirit of God rested upon them through the night, and they came in its power to the day's meeting. Many more now felt the influence of the Spirit. Confessions were made of their feelings of disunity with Elder and Mrs. White, and confessions of their worldliness and their backslidden state. More of them were prostrated by the Spirit of God. John Andrews remembered his initiation at Paris, Maine, and was stricken by heaven's power. John Loughborough rose and said, "I have laid up my hammer! I have driven the last nail! Henceforth my hand shall hold the sword of the Spirit, and never give it up. So help me, God!"

The meeting held till five o'clock in the evening. The Sabbath came on, the soft descending benediction of the dusk; and as a redeemed company they entered into its gates. That Sabbath was a glorious day. The burden rolled off the shoulders of the company who had come, and descended upon the men and women of Waukon. They labored for one another, confessing their sins, renewing their consecration, bringing back the straying. And when the blessed day closed, victory beamed from the banners of the people of God. The breach was closed, the officers of the host recovered, and were filled again with courage.¹³

John Loughborough went back with the Whites to Illinois, and entered the work immediately with courage and new determination. John Andrews recovered but slowly from his wretched physical state. Indeed, it was nine years before he found those principles and methods of health reform which fully restored his health. But his outdoor labors had benefited him, and soon he went forth in Iowa once more, to teach the message. He later returned East.

Never again did Andrews and Loughborough falter. Through thick or thin, trial or blessing, abundance or want, through hardships and perplexities and providences unnumbered, they went their ways to the last; the one, like a James,

to close his work by an early death; the other, like a John, to live beyond the span of his companions' lives. The battle lines were mended, the forward movement was resumed, and the ranks were heartened by the dash to Waukon.

¹ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 30, 1856.

² James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 328, 329.

³ *Review and Herald*, Nov. 13, 1856, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1857, p. 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1856, p. 45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1855, p. 228.

⁷ Ellen G. and James White, *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene* (1890 ed.), pp. 263-264.

⁸ So much were his services on the farm needed for several years yet, during which time he apparently left for preaching chiefly in the nongrowing season, that in 1859 George W. Amadon, a key worker in the *Review and Herald* at Battle Creek, was released in June to take Elder Andrews' place on the farm, so that he might continue to serve actively in the ministry. (*Review and Herald*, June 9, 1859, p. 20.)

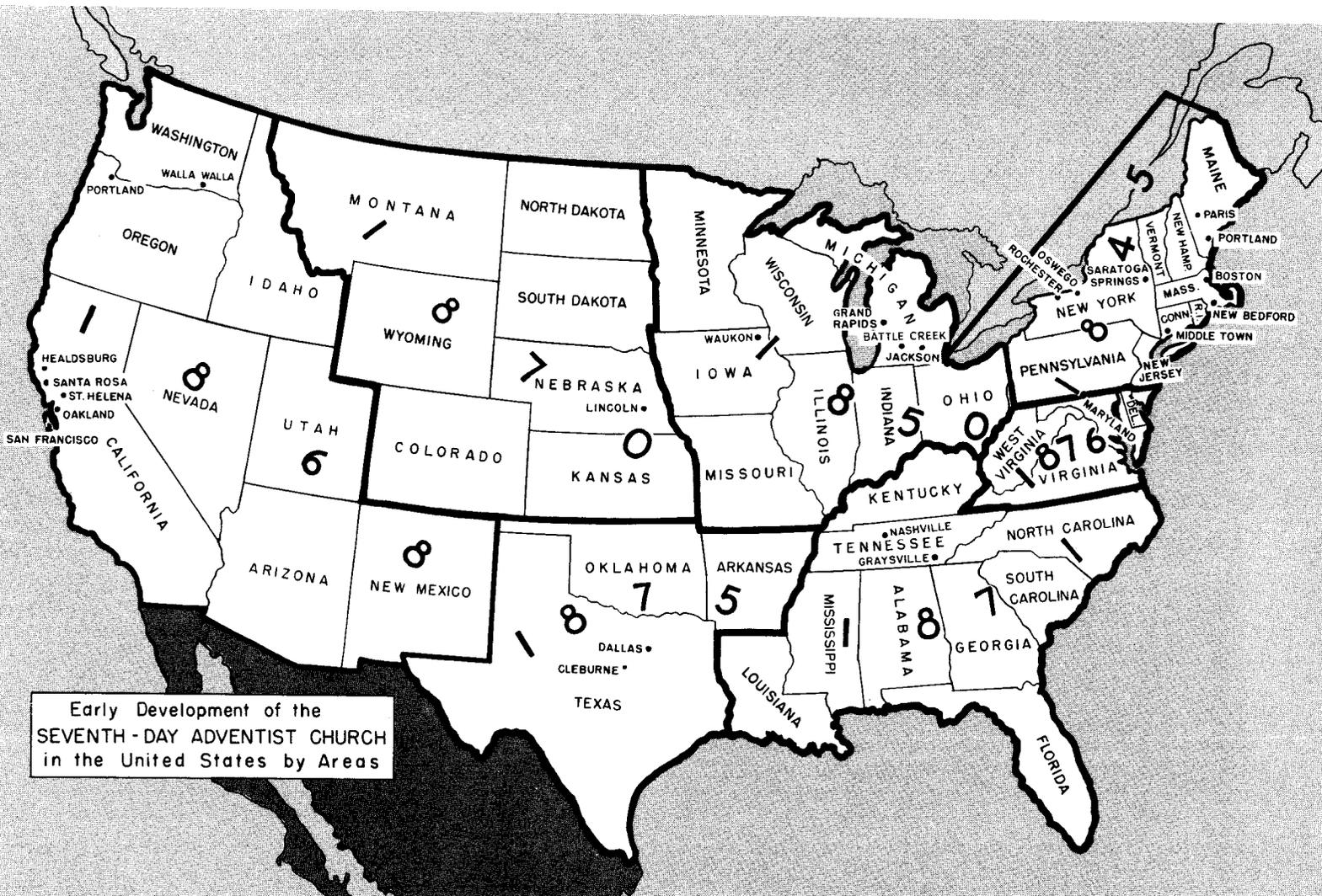
⁹ J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 208.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 149-153.

¹² *Review and Herald*, Nov. 27, 1856. The Sabbathkeeping brethren were at this time mostly concentrated in the northwestern part of the State.

¹³ James White, *Life Sketches*, pp. 328-333; *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White*, pp. 160, 161; Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 211.



Early Development of the SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH in the United States by Areas

ORGANIZING THE CHURCH

THE decade following the disappointment was a time of chaos in Adventist circles. Not only did the failure of their hopes cut deep and result in a large falling away, but those who remained were in confusion. Miller and his associates never intended to create a new church; and when they were cast out of their mother churches, they were held together, not by any organic arrangement, but solely by the bonds of a common faith. The experience prejudiced them against church organization. After the disappointment their faith was torn by diverse teachings and irreconcilable leaders. At the same time their bias against organization continued and prevented such union as a definite polity and headship might afford. George Storrs wrote before the disappointment, and his words were echoed afterward: "Take care that you do not seek to manufacture another church. No church can be organized by man's invention but what it becomes Babylon *the moment it is organized.*"¹

Doubtless it was well that no attempt at ecclesiastical organization was immediately attempted. Any government is strong only in the degree that its people are in accord, and this is peculiarly true of the church. The church of Christ grows in love, and is bound together by love; and no borrowed shell of authority can fit it. In this Storrs reasoned aright when he continued: "The Lord organizes His own church by the strong bonds of love. Stronger bonds than that cannot be made; and when such bonds will not hold together the professed followers of Christ they cease to be His followers"; but he was strangely ignorant of the psychology of heretics when he concluded, "and drop off from the body as a matter of course."² Either to reform their church or to seek protective coloration, they usually stay by, if there is no means to remove them. But

it is true that organization cannot be imposed; it must grow out of the body. And there must first be built up a brotherhood who through unity of faith will dwell in the bonds of love. This, in the state of the Adventist people after 1844, was no easy task. Every man was his own interpreter, and not disposed to listen to another. The distracted aftermath of the Albany Conference, wherein the central body steadily deteriorated, was an illustration of the state.

If in a particular study of the early history of the Seventh-day Adventists we find much of this spirit of independence and disunion, if we find individuals and cliques disaffected toward the leaders and rebellious against the testimony of the Spirit, we are only seeing the general state of the whole Adventist people at that time. And in this they were not creating a new type of man; it is human nature to prefer one's own opinion and to rebel against discipline. In governments well established and administered, that independent spirit is commonly convinced or overawed, and rebellions and secessions are dependent upon the ultrabold; but where no government has been established, the law is the individual's will and whim. Nothing better illustrates this in national affairs than our own frontier history; and in ecclesiastical rule no modern example is more pertinent than this period of Adventist history. From 1852 onward there was increasingly a larger proportion of non-Adventists who came into the Sabbath-and-Advent faith; but they too were typically independent Americans.

There had first to be created a brotherhood of love, of faith, and of hope, which would hold together and function as a body, not because a form of organization was imposed upon them, but because their fellowship united them and tended to frame their association and cooperation into organic forms. This was the work of the leaders for the first ten to fifteen years of the history of Sabbathkeeping Adventists. The leaders themselves had, in common with their brethren, the task of bringing their natures into subjection to Jesus Christ. They shared with all, the physical disabilities and spiritual hazards

of human nature; they had personal battles to fight against infirmities of judgment and temper; they were in the midst of the battle which they were charged to direct. Some failed; others made mistakes and rectified them; some were steadfast as the hills.

In all this period the testimonies to the church which came through Mrs. White deal often, very understandably, with this unstable state in men and movements. Without this gift of the Holy Spirit, as was proved over and over, the ties of brotherhood would not have sufficed to bind the movement together. Sometimes the straight witness cut and cauterized; but with how many tears, how much agony of mind to the writer, few knew. The fact stands out to us now, that in that early time, when there was no church organization and no ecclesiastical authority among the Sabbathkeeping Adventists, the Spirit of prophecy in Ellen G. White and the faith of the believers in her divine commission constituted the sole disciplinary agent of the body, the one rallying point of the faithful, the final court of appeal. Yet how modestly, with what godly fear, in what travail of soul, did she bear her testimony! No other agency could have so united while purifying. The outcome was a nuclear body comparatively clean, disciplined, and directed, for which later generations have every reason to be grateful. That was a Cave of Adullam, where "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented" came and had to be disciplined and welded into a loyal force. Today we have in consequence "the host," and "mighty men of valour," "expert in war," who can "keep rank," and who "know what Israel ought to do."⁸ Tomorrow there will be final victory, and the kingdom.

Organization comes as the result of increased membership and exercise of energies. A small group may follow a leader who suffices for all needs or who delegates some of his duties. But with the increase of numbers and the multiplication of activities, there becomes apparent the need of organization. In the early church at first the apostles were all things to all

men. Then the needs of the people suggested deacons. The organization continued to develop, and some thirty years later we see the great apostle telling Titus that he was left in Crete to "set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city," and writing Timothy about the character and establishment of bishops (elders) and deacons. Again, he wrote:

"Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he . . . gave gifts unto men. . . . And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." ⁴

"And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." ⁵

The first evidence of organization among the Sabbath-keeping Adventists came in the appointment or election of deacons in each band, or church. This practice appears in 1853, in Joseph Bates's own church at Fairhaven, and in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, also at Jackson and Sylvan, Michigan.⁶ The deacon was generally the sole church officer, and appears to have united in himself the duties of elder and deacon, except when, at irregular intervals, a minister might visit them. Indeed, the chief reason given for the appointment of deacons was that they might see to the celebration of the "ordinances of the Lord's house"—the Lord's supper, and "the ordinance of humility," or foot washing—since the minister's visits might be a year or more apart. But with this start in local church organization, it was soon perceived that the gospel order provided by the apostles required the selection of both elders and deacons, and those two offices were established.

There had, however, come up earlier the question of certifying public teachers of the faith. This was met by James

White and Joseph Bates issuing a card certificate, signed by themselves as "leading ministers," to any such teacher who gave evidence of fitness. Later such cards were signed as well by J. N. Loughborough, and perhaps by other front-rank ministers.

As for ordination as gospel ministers, that at first was indeterminate. James White had been ordained in 1843 as a minister in the Christian denomination; Frederick Wheeler and John Byington were ordained Methodist ministers, and A. S. Hutchins was ordained in the Freewill Baptist Church. There were a few others. Many of the workers in the 1844 movement were men ordained in different communions; for in its early proclamation it appealed to hundreds of earnest Christian pastors. Yet there were many laymen who also entered into the preaching without receiving ordination. William Miller himself was licensed, but not ordained, by the Baptists. Some of the Seventh-day Adventists at first were such lay preachers. It does not appear that Joseph Bates was ever ordained or even licensed, though he was active and prominent in the 1844 movement as well as afterward.⁷

In 1854 Mrs. White wrote: "The church must flee to God's word, and become established upon gospel order which has been overlooked and neglected.' This is indispensably necessary to bring the church into the unity of the faith."⁸

In a series of four articles in the *Review and Herald* that same year, James White wrote on "Gospel Order."⁹ In the third of these articles he advocated the ordination of ministers by "the laying on of hands." The counsel doubtless bore fruit. In a few instances we know of ordination in the Seventh-day Adventist faith. Thus Washington Morse records that he was ordained in 1853, but by whom does not appear.¹⁰ It is recorded of J. N. Loughborough that he was ordained June 18, 1854.¹¹ We may suppose that most of the younger men who undertook to preach received ordination at the hands of their older brethren; but the clear record begins only with the general organization of the church in 1861-63, when credentials were

issued by conferences to eligible men, account being taken of their proved service in Christ's cause more than of some former ordination. Thereafter new candidates were duly licensed and ordained.

A pressing question was how to support the ministers equitably. The haphazard practice of trusting to the liberality of adherents resulted in inequalities corresponding to the personality appeal of the preachers, and in no case was there superabundance. In a national period when currency was scarce, when barter was still a not uncommon method of exchange, "seven or eight dollars," as Waggoner's sympathizer proposed, was no mean sum, and many a farmer who scarcely saw that much in a month could easily excuse himself from donations. In fact, the preacher's pay was often in a bushel of wheat, half a hog, or "a piece of broiled fish and of an honey-comb." The leaders perceived that the time was ripe to invoke a more effective plan.

In April, 1858, a class formed in Battle Creek, presided over by J. N. Andrews, to study the Scriptures for light on the support of the ministry.¹² Following this, a meeting of the Battle Creek church was held in January, 1859, to consider the same subject. After listening to Elders Andrews, White, and Frisbie, this meeting appointed these three to prepare an address on the subject of systematic giving, to be published in the church paper. The address was duly prepared, approved by the church, and published in the *Review and Herald* of February 3. It was then presented to a conference assembled in Battle Creek, June 3-6, and was by them adopted and recommended to all churches.

The proposition was to follow Paul's instruction in 1 Corinthians 16:2, that on the first day of every week the people are to lay up in store according as God has prospered them, such sums as they feel they should.¹³ It was no sooner proposed than acted upon, for in general the church was ready. In the next number of the paper James White reported that forty-six brethren and sisters in the village of Battle Creek had sub-

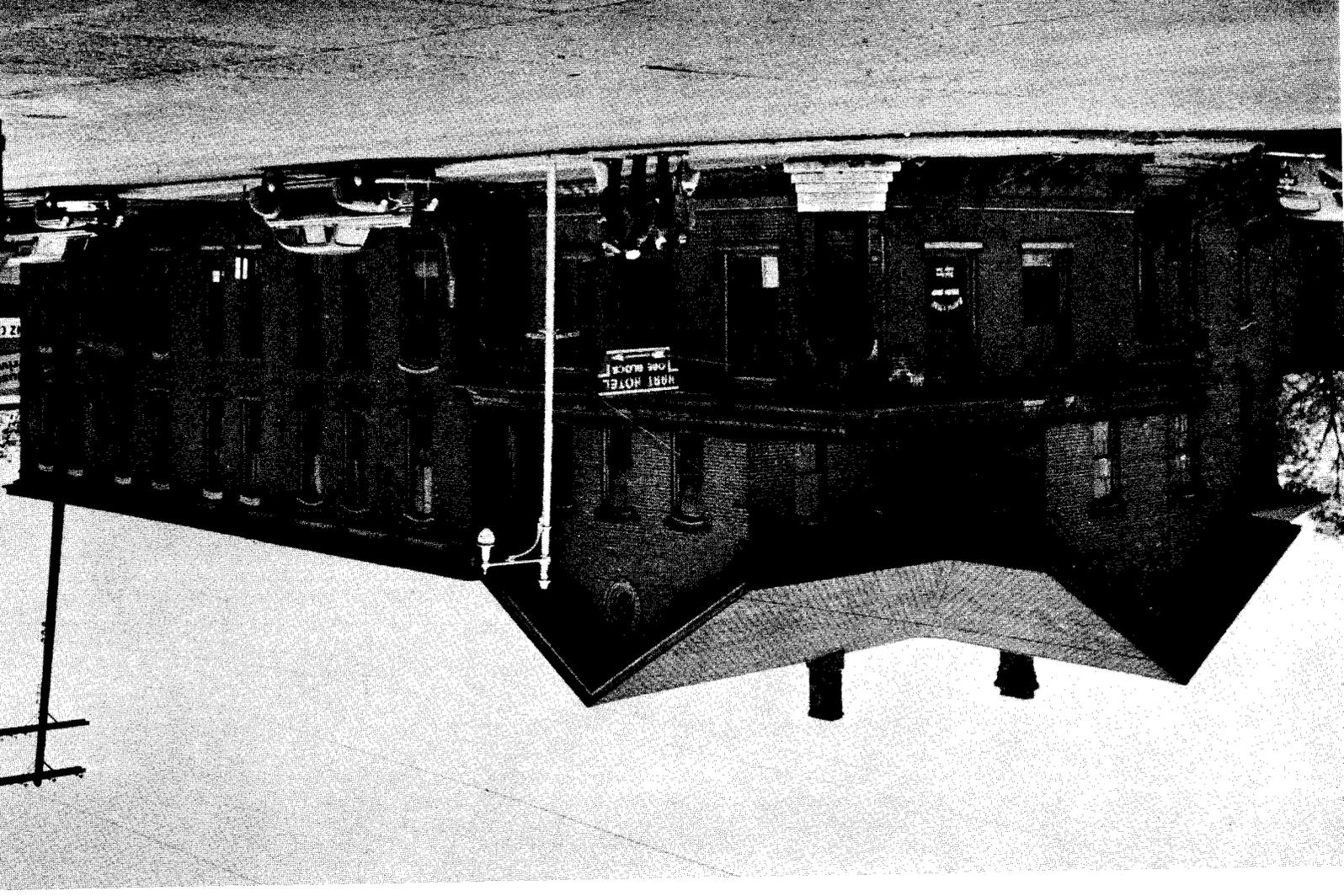
scribed, stating the amount each would set aside. From every direction churches responded favorably, though there was not unanimous consent, and articles by White and Frisbie occurred in the *Review* for some time, explaining the plan and meeting criticism.

But then what? Here was money with no one to receive it and no one especially to whom to give it. A brother writes in from Hillsdale, Michigan, asking what to do with it.¹⁴ The editor replies that a collector, or treasurer, should be appointed and suggests that five dollars be kept on hand to help itinerant ministers, and that the remainder be sent to the tent company, to aid in its work. So makeshift were the early efforts at "systematic benevolence." But it was an aiming at the mark of organization and support, and practice soon reduced the percentage of error and hit the bull's-eye.

Loughborough says, and later writers have followed him, that this was "on the tithing principle,"¹⁵ but although it may have suggested tithing, and whereas it led to the adoption of the tithing system later, it was not in itself a tithe, nor did it result in a liberality as great. However, it was educative.

Mrs. White strongly advocated systematic benevolence, and naturally used Malachi's appeal¹⁶ to support it. The "tithes" there called for led into a study of the system of financial support in patriarchal and Mosaic times. There was published in Battle Creek in 1861 a periodical called the *Samaritan*, no copy of which is now known to exist. References to it by J. N. Loughborough, in an article on "Systematic Benevolence," and earlier by A. S. Hutchins, indicate that the straight tithing plan was first proposed that year.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the tithing system did not take hold in great measure for seventeen years or more. At the General Conference of 1878, held in Battle Creek, a committee of five was appointed to "prepare a work on the Scriptural plan of Systematic Benevolence."¹⁸ This committee, consisting of James White, D. M. Canright, S. N. Haskell, J. N. Andrews, and Uriah Smith, prepared and issued a pamphlet in 1879 entitled



Systematic Benevolence; or the Bible Plan of Supporting the Ministry, in which they strongly advocated the tithing plan. They said, "The subject of Systematic Benevolence has been under practical consideration by Seventh-day Adventists for a period of twenty years or more. And no material change from the system first adopted was seen necessary until two years since."¹⁹

The General Conference of 1883 requested George I. Butler to write a treatise on tithing, which he did in a pamphlet of 112 pages. In it he says that "previous to 1878 we tried to carry out a plan called 'Systematic Benevolence,' " which "was far from being the same as a Bible tithe."²⁰ He also advocated the tithing plan; and the practice became general.

In addition to the tithe, freewill offerings, according to the mind and ability of members, were recommended. The whole system was left voluntary, and neither then nor since has it been made a condition for membership or a basis for church discipline. It is diligently taught, and then left to the conscience of the true believer, a more efficacious enforcer.

Besides the church buildings, the one property belonging to the associated brethren was the publishing house. The property at Battle Creek was not held by anyone in legal form; but since its development had been chiefly in the hands of James White, and since he had been constituted publishing agent by the publishing committee, and the business had been done in his name, he was in the commercial world looked to as the legal owner, responsible to all men for its possession and obligations.²¹ Yet there was on the part of the brethren not a little opposition to applying to the government for incorporation, the chief argument against it being that if the church incorporated under the laws of the State, that would be a union of Christ with Caesar; and some would rather risk the loss of church property than take that step.

Through the summer of 1860 the matter was debated, until a general gathering from several States was called in Battle Creek the last of September. There were representatives from

← PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

The old "West Building" at Battle Creek, Michigan, which housed the first General Conference offices and mission board before the move to Washington, D.C.

five States.²³ Some appeared with letters from churches making them their delegates; others were generally recognized as "leading ministers." The meeting was presided over, as apparently were all the "general conferences" of those days, by Joseph Bates, with Uriah Smith acting as secretary and stenographic reporter.²³

This conference, as befits its importance, is more minutely reported than any other in the early history of the work. All the speakers are quoted verbatim (except for occasional abstracts of presumably aimless speeches), and so realistic is the reporting that the personalities of the participants stand out in cameo relief. The report runs voluminously through three numbers of the *Review*,²⁴ and throws a spotlight upon the minds of the brethren throughout the field, and upon the conversion of most of them. In general, the holdover from the 1844 attitude of "organization is Babylon" was more or less evident in all cases except those of White, Loughborough, and a layman, Ezra Brackett, of Battle Creek. In some of the Ohio and New York delegates this seemed to be constitutional; in the cases of such leaders as Andrews, Waggoner, and Cornell it was a fear reducible by discussion; at the beginning, J. N. Loughborough seems to have been about the only one with a clear-cut conception of the issue, its distinctions, and its proper solution. James White, while probably holding Loughborough's concept, diplomatically refrained from championing any particular plan, only insisting that *some* plan must be made. And indeed, organization in some form and to some degree had previously been endorsed in communications to the *Review* by Andrews, Waggoner, Cornell, Ingraham, Hull, and others. Bates was well known as an organizer.

The conference opens. Brother White states the case—that he is left in the position of being legally the sole owner of the church property, which, having consideration to the laws of inheritance, not to speak of the possibility of apostasy, is not a safe position to be held by anyone. He wants relief by some legal arrangement which will ensure possession to the church.

Brother Loughborough, who had previously come out strongly in the *Review* for a legal organization, now presents cogently the inescapable fact that the church's rights in its property can be secured only by incorporating under the laws of the State; and this is no more a union of Christ with Caesar than when a church member registers the deed to his property under the laws of the State.

The chairman makes one pertinent remark: "If your farms, brethren, were in such a situation, you would take some action, would you not?"

Brother Brackett says that if Brother White should drop away this evening, all that property would descend to his children, and no action could be taken to recover it until the youngest came of age. He feels they can organize in such a manner as to avoid the censure of the churches in this situation.

Brother Cornell is anxious to find means to hold church property without compromising the truth of God.

Brother Andrews is torn between the conviction that something must be done and the fear that by incorporating under State laws they would be departing from the apostolic code. A letter is read from Brother Cottrell, who cannot be present, but whose communication to the church paper, "Making Us a Name,"²⁵ has provoked much discussion, and is counted a support to the nonorganization people. He has protested, however, that no one will find him making a party, but that he will go with his brethren. Having been challenged to show a positive rather than a negative attitude, in this letter he proposes a committee to hold the publishing house in trust; and as for church buildings—they belong to those who built them.

Brother Butler insists the church must follow a higher law than the law of the land, and urges that they organize on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief cornerstone.

Brother White asks Brother Butler for a definite plan on that basis, whereby to hold church property legally; and

Brother Butler replies that he is here not to propose a plan but to pass on such plans as are proposed.

Brother Poole thinks that when the church organizes to hold property, it has formed a throne upon which the man of sin might sit.

Brother Waggoner, however, who also has had qualms about organizing, thinks Brother Poole agrees with Brother Andrews, as Brother Waggoner does.

Brother Loughborough then proposes the organization, under State laws, of an association of men named by the church to hold the church property. The church will then be the constituency, but the association will be the legal body, responsible to the church.

Brother Andrews asks some questions, and is satisfied. Brother Waggoner makes some inquiries, and is satisfied. Brother Poole is satisfied. Brother Sperry is satisfied. And Brother White thinks Brother Loughborough is right.

Finally a committee of three is appointed to frame a definite plan, and also to propose a name for the church: Andrews, Waggoner, and Butler. This is an astute move by the chair to throw the burden of action upon the center and the left; without doubt, however, they consult the right—Loughborough and White.

The committee reported at the next session that they were unable to agree on a name, but recommended such a legal association as had been proposed by Brother Loughborough. The discussion that followed cleared up the final objections, and the plan was adopted.

Finally, in the fifth session the question of a name was settled. So far they had made shift with various more or less vague terms: "the brethren," "the little flock," "the remnant people," "Sabbathkeepers," and "the church of God." This last term seemed to some ideal as an official name, despite the fact that it was already used by several bodies, and besides had rather an arrogant sound. But others desired a distinctive name which would express their principal beliefs, and they

proposed the name Seventh-day Adventist, which indeed had already been applied to them as much as any other. This name Mrs. White supported, saying, "The name Seventh-day Adventist carries the true features of our faith in front, and will convict the inquiring mind. Like an arrow from the Lord's quiver, it will wound the transgressors of God's law, and will lead to repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁶

On motion of David Hewitt, the name Seventh-day Adventist was adopted. Only one man voted against it, contending still for Church of God. A few days afterward he took Elder Loughborough and Elder Waggoner home with him, and they held a series of meetings in his town. At the close of the meetings a stranger came up and purchased some books, saying he belonged to the Church of God.

Said Elder Loughborough to him, "Are you a Winebrennerian?"—follower of John Winebrenner, whose adherents had adopted the name Church of God.

"No," said he.

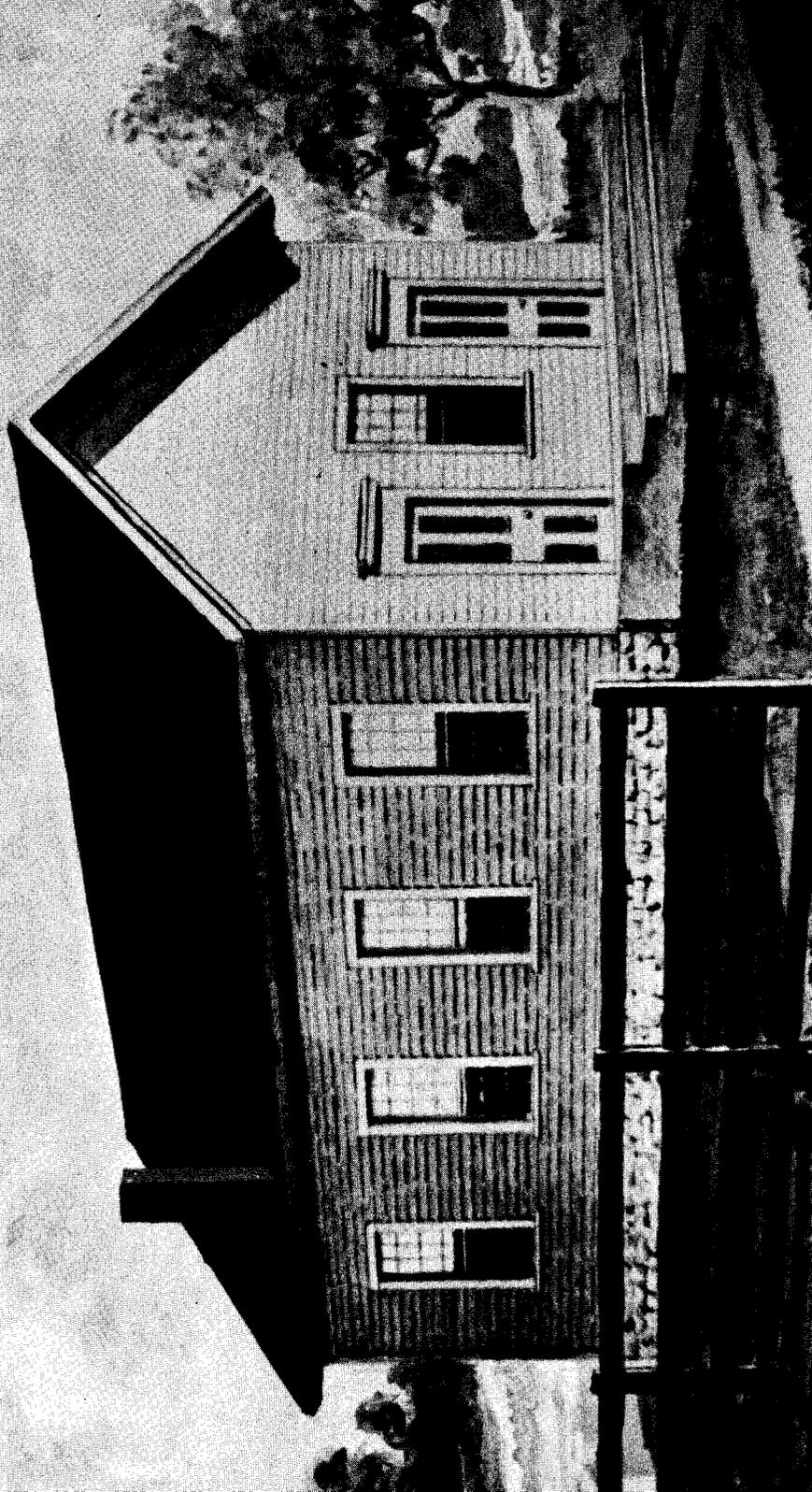
"Are you a Dunkard?"—common name of the Mennonite Church, which also was called Church of God.

"No," answered the man, "I said, Church of God."

Turning to the brother who had contended for the name, Elder Loughborough said, "Brother Butler,²⁷ can you tell me what that man's faith is?"

"No," he replied, "I cannot." But still he clung to the name Church of God for the Seventh-day Adventist Church.²⁸

A committee of five was appointed at the fall conference of 1860 to carry out the project of incorporating the publishing business. This they accomplished in the following spring; and on May 3, 1861, the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association was organized and incorporated under the laws of Michigan, the first legal body of the denomination. This was made a stock company, there being then no law in Michigan providing for nonprofit-sharing corporations. Owing very largely to the Advent enterprises, especially the sanitarium, such a law was



later enacted, whereupon the publishing association was re-organized on that basis. James White transferred the property to this association on June 2, 1861.²⁹

The following fall, in October, 1861, a gathering of Michigan workers, meeting in Battle Creek,³⁰ organized the Michigan Conference, with Joseph Bates as chairman and Uriah Smith as secretary. This was, it is true, but a tentative organization, and the constituent churches were not formally received into the conference until the next meeting, in the fall of 1862; but the recommendations of this conference were in the meantime accepted and followed in the State, and it was recognized to be Session No. 1 of the Michigan Conference, the first conference to be organized among Seventh-day Adventists. It recommended the organization of local churches under a covenant reading, "We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together, as a church, taking the name, Seventh-day Adventists, covenanting to keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus Christ." This was generally adopted, originating the phrase so long familiar among us, "signing the covenant." Though the exact procedure is no longer followed, the expression has scarcely yet fallen into disuse.

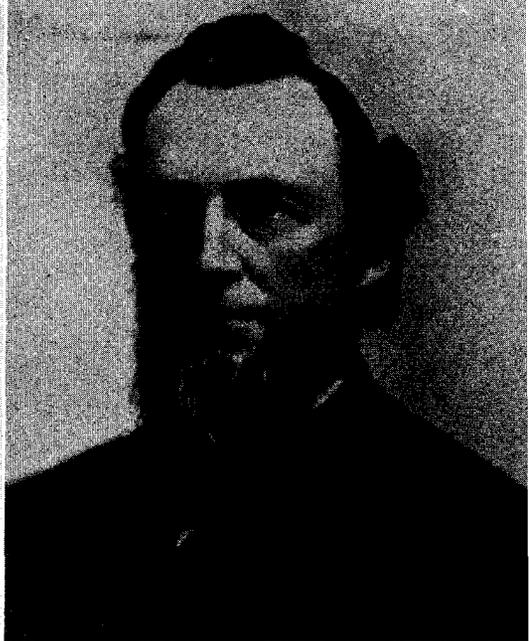
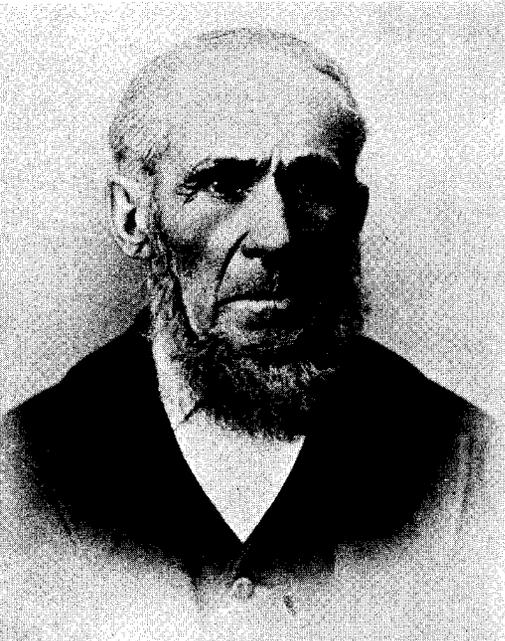
A resolution was also passed, recommending that the churches in Michigan unite in one "Conference." Here again a persistent term was born. Theretofore—in the 1844 movement, among postdisappointment Adventists, and among Sabbathkeeping Adventists—the term *conference* held its primary significance: a single gathering of believers who wished to confer with one another. Now, after the Methodist manner, *conference* came to mean a permanent and operating union of a group of churches, equivalent in the geographical sense to the Episcopal *diocese*. But the term in its original sense is also used of their stated meetings. A third matter settled was that of the ordination and certification of ministers, credentials to be issued by the conference annually.

Except in Michigan, however, the cause of organization marked time or retrograded through the two years from the

autumn of 1860 to the autumn of 1862. Churches in New York and Pennsylvania, influenced by the attitude of their leaders, voted against it; in Ohio the opposition of leading ministers caused confusion throughout the State; in New England there was division; and in the West there was apathy and not a little opposition. James White wrote in September, 1862: "About all that has been done among the Seventh-day Adventists in relation to organization, is to silence the batteries of those who opposed it, and by dint of battle to succeed in forming the Publishing Association. And there the matter hangs, and we are not in as good condition to make a general strike for organization as we were two and half years since, when the subject was first introduced."³¹ He applauds Michigan, however, as solid for organization and already reaping its benefits. His appeal bore fruit throughout the field, not merely from some ministers but from laymen who chided their leaders for cowardice or inefficiency;³² and conferences were organized in Iowa, Vermont, Illinois-Wisconsin, Minnesota, and finally New York and Ohio.

In accordance with the action taken at its first meeting, the Michigan Conference assembled at Monterey, October 4-6, 1862,³³ with the same officers; though for the ensuing term a layman, William S. Higley, Jr., of Lapeer, was elected president, with a conference committee consisting of James White, J. N. Loughborough, and John Byington.

These two successive meetings of the Michigan Conference were record making, forming a fairly complete organism for operating, an initial pattern. Thus, first, they decided to receive churches within the conference jurisdiction by vote; and seventeen churches already formed in the State of Michigan and one from northern Indiana were thus received.³⁴ Second, they provided for the ordination of ministers and their annual certification by the conference. Third, they decided to pay ministers a regular salary, the rate to be fixed annually by an auditing committee, reports being required from the workers.³⁵ Fourth, Michigan at this time resolved: "That we invite the



**John Byington, first president of the General Conference, and
Uriah Smith, first secretary.**

several State Conferences to meet with us, by delegate, in general conference, at our next annual Conference.”

Complying with Michigan’s invitation, through its Conference Committee, a General Conference met in Battle Creek, Michigan, May 20-23, 1863. All the new conferences but Vermont were represented by one or more delegates. Michigan had ten delegates, half the entire number; but this was also the second session of the Michigan Conference.³⁰ For some years thereafter the Michigan Conference continued to meet at the same time and place as the General Conference, but in separate session.

It was a harmonious, affectionate, even jubilant gathering. The tide had turned, and there was a determination, reflecting the attitude back home, to arise and build. Great things were in prospect, and the spirits of the delegates rose to the occasion. Uriah Smith wrote of it: “Think of everything good that has been written of every previous meeting, and apply it to this.

All this would be true, and more than this. Perhaps no previous meeting that we have ever enjoyed, was characterized by such unity of feeling and harmony of sentiment.”³⁷

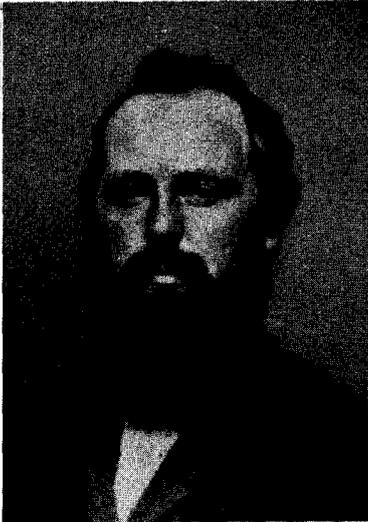
The General Conference was called to order by J. M. Aldrich, of New York, temporary chairman; and committees were appointed on credentials, General Conference constitution, State conference constitution, and nominations.

The constitution of the General Conference, consisting of nine articles, set forth the usual features of organization, and provided for representation of each conference: one general delegate and one additional for each twenty delegates in the State conference. A similar constitution was provided for the latter.

The Committee on Nominations brought in the following report: president, James White; secretary, Uriah Smith; treasurer, E. S. Walker;³⁸ executive committee, James White, John Byington, J. N. Loughborough, to whom were added J. N. Andrews and G. W. Amadon. But Elder White declined to serve as president, on the ground that because he had been so prominent in urging a definite organization, it might be charged (as indeed in substance it already had been) that he was seeking to be a king. In the face of his adamant refusal, John Byington was substituted, and so became the first General Conference president. He served for two terms, the term then being one year; then James White was induced to take the office, which he filled three times, till 1880, alternating with J. N. Andrews (1867-69), and G. I. Butler (1871-74). At the conference of 1889 the term was extended to two years, and at the conference of 1905 to four years, in keeping with actions establishing first biennial, then quadrennial meetings of the General Conference.

Viewed from the vantage point of later years, when organization has proved its value and indeed its indispensability to the promulgation of a world-wide message, the qualms and hesitations of men of that time may seem puerile and ridiculous. To suppose that a church, by refusing to establish order

and system, might thereby avoid the confusion of "Babylon," seems the essence of disordered thinking; and truly it was. But we look back upon an accomplishment; they looked forward to an uncertain adventure. And it must be taken into account



E. S. Walker, first treasurer of the General Conference.

that leaders and people had, by experience and teaching, been indoctrinated in the belief that the tyranny of church organizations was separable from their ordination. Men's minds are not easily taken out of the grooves of their thinking before these become ruts for the wheels of their faith. Many an example of such substitution of prejudice for the process of reasoning is before us every day.

On the whole, the pioneers handled the question admirably. If it cost the chief leaders sweat of soul, that was a penalty of their leadership; and it also cost the spiritual

lives of their tribulators. There were some casualties, and there were some remarkable recoveries. Three types of opposers may be represented by three men. Waterman Phelps, in a letter to the *Review*, formally withdrew in dignified if disordered argument; and though James White and others labored lovingly with him, his decision was irrevocable.³⁹ T. J. Butler, being made a member of the committee on organization at the 1860 meeting, went along reluctantly, his opposition seemingly increasing with the progressive weakness of his objections, until over the issue of a name (though really because of a critical spirit), he dropped out despite the efforts of his brethren to placate and save him.⁴⁰ R. F. Cottrell at first wrote a very

mildly worded but decided objection to organization; and because of the sweet spirit of this and later communications it had greater effect on the people than any other opposition. James White felt it necessary to oppose his position and influence in strong language; and the mild responses of "R. F. C." seemed oil on the flames. At last, convinced, Cottrell swung into line, and kept his place as a strong supporter of the cause.⁴¹

Not a few contrasted the candor and sometimes the vehemence of Elder White with the mildness of Elder Cottrell, to the disadvantage of the former and of his cause. It remained for M. E. Cornell to evaluate the situation in a letter to the *Review*. He says that at first he felt in agreement with the criticism that James White was too severe; but as he traveled and found the great influence for disorganization which the communications of Cottrell had on the people, directly aided by their "good spirit," he came to the conclusion that nothing but the strongest speech could counteract it, and he fully sustained White's course. In the end, he declares that no mild-mannered leader would have succeeded, and that the cause of organization would have been lost except for its strong championship by Elder White.⁴²

It is interesting to observe in communications to the *Review and Herald* during the next two years the practically unanimous agreement of the churches as to the blessings of organization, and the rather astonished relief they experienced in discovering that it worked well and without that Babylonian enslavement they had feared. It was indeed the beginning of a new era. To use modern imagery, it was the transition from the economy of the ox team to that of the motorcar, which at first took the breath of some, but eventuated in their delight in the swifter progress made.

This great work of organization, thus carried through in two and a half years, was a momentous event. It formed the basis of that efficient and militant application of the resources of this people, who have since girdled the world with their mission and message. Revisions and reorganizations suited to

the growth and development of the work have been made in later years; but the pioneers of 1861-63 cast up the highway, gathered out the stones, and lifted up a standard for the people.

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- ¹ *The Midnight Cry*, Feb. 15, 1844.
² *Ibid.*
³ 1 Samuel 22:2; 1 Chronicles 12:21-33.
⁴ Ephesians 4:8-13.
⁵ 1 Corinthians 12:28.
⁶ Reported by H. S. Gurney for Massachusetts (*Review and Herald*, Dec. 27, 1853), and M. E. Cornell for Michigan (*ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1854). See Appendix.
⁷ See Appendix.
⁸ Ellen G. White, *Supplement to Christian Experience and Views*, pp. 18, 19.
⁹ *Review and Herald*, Dec. 6-27, 1853.
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1888, p. 643.
¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1924, p. 17.
¹² J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 215.
¹³ See Appendix.
¹⁴ *Review and Herald*, March 3, 1859, p. 120.
¹⁵ Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 223.
¹⁶ Malachi 3:8-11.
¹⁷ *Review and Herald*, April 9, 1861, p. 164; June 18, 1861, p. 30.
¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1878, p. 121.
¹⁹ *Systematic Benevolence*, p. 1.
²⁰ George I. Butler, *The Tithing System*, p. 69.
²¹ *Review and Herald*, Aug. 21, 1860, p. 108.
²² See Appendix.
²³ Uriah Smith invented and used his own system of shorthand.
²⁴ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 9-23, 1860.
²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1860, p. 140.
²⁶ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 224.
²⁷ Butler of Ohio; not to be confused with George I. Butler, of Iowa, later General Conference president, or with his pioneer father, E. P. Butler.
²⁸ Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 227; *Review and Herald*, Oct. 23, 1860, p. 179.
²⁹ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 8, 1861, p. 152.
³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 149.
³¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1862, p. 140.
³² See Appendix.
³³ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 14, 1862, pp. 156, 157.
³⁴ See Appendix.
³⁵ See Appendix.
³⁶ See Appendix.
³⁷ *Review and Herald*, May 26, 1863, p. 204. See Appendix.
³⁸ Walker was from Iowa, where he had been a strong influence for organization and evangelism; he was secretary-treasurer of the newly formed Southern Iowa Conference.
³⁹ *Review and Herald*, July 16, 1861, p. 52; Oct. 1, 1861, pp. 140, 141.
⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1862, p. 117. Ten years later he was recovered by George I. Butler, in Iowa, where he had removed. He was rebaptized, and began again to preach. (*Ibid.*, June 18, 1872, p. 6.)
⁴¹ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1860, p. 140; Aug. 27, 1861, p. 100; Sept. 24, 1861, p. 132.
⁴² *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1861, pp. 12, 13.

THE BITTER WAR YEARS

DESPITE the increasing horrors of modern inventions of war, experienced by America in common with most other nations in the two recent world wars, the Civil War remains the most agonizing to the American people, because it was a quarrel between brothers; it was sanguinary; it was fought on American soil; and it involved greater proportionate numbers of the population in combat. The South, where most of the battles occurred, and where conquering armies marched and raided, was devastated; its male population was decimated, its homes were largely destroyed, its plantations and estates swept clean, and its slight industries effaced. With its foreign trade suppressed and its domestic economy uprooted, its people were left with empty hands to face a dismaying future. The North, though suffering less material damage, yet mourned equally with the South the bereaving loss of its sons, while its manufactures and commerce were distorted by the requirements of war, and its resources were consumed. The greatest wound was in the murderous hatred which, growing for three decades, flamed into armed conflict and burned deeply into the national soul, more than a generation being required to erase the scars.

The real cause of the Civil War was camouflaged by both South and North. Neither liked to admit that the fate of the Negro slave was the underlying reason why they fought; yet none today deny that this was the smoldering base which finally burst into the conflagration; and certainly the most significant result was the abolition of slavery. Geography, climate, and consequent industries had been the chief factors in driving slavery out of the North and localizing it in the South, though the economic concepts of the peoples played their part, and the Christian spirit of liberty came to be the

preponderant force. Slavery, justified in the crude social philosophy of medieval Europe, was from the beginning an anachronism in America, and the selfish materialism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries faced here the irresistible if groping altruism of the nineteenth. The system worked to the economic as well as the spiritual disadvantage of the section which maintained it: fewer than one tenth of the white population of the South were slaveowners, and in the States which became the Confederacy nearly five million free-soil men were crowded off the best lands, to their economic damage. But both wealth and education, therefore leadership, concentrated in the slave-owning aristocracy, and the largely illiterate majority were unable to appreciate such masterly arguments as those of Helper, their fellow mountaineer.¹

In the North antislavery sentiment was slow in growth. Indeed, in the first years of the century the North was behind the South; for most of the Southern Revolutionary fathers were opposed to slavery, and it was they who were largely responsible for banning it from the Northwest. The typical Northern attitude up to the Civil War was a desire to leave the slavery question out of mind, and an accompanying irritation at the Abolitionists who continually stressed it.

In the national election of 1860 the newborn Republican Party triumphed over the split Democratic Party, and put its candidate, Abraham Lincoln, in the President's chair. Lincoln's heart was with the oppressed, but his statesman mind subordinated this cause to the preservation of the Union. The South repudiated his election, and State after State followed South Carolina into separation from the Union and formation of another national government, the Confederate States of America. Over the question of whether any State or States had the right to secede, which the South affirmed and the North denied, the Civil War was fought. This question, rather than slavery, united the North in defense of the Union, while it drew the great nonslaveholding white population of the South, with some notable exceptions, into the Southern armies. Neverthe-

less, in their hearts all men knew that the fate of slavery depended on the outcome.

In the 1860's the young Seventh-day Adventist Church was insignificant in numbers, and its influence in national affairs was nil. It had no reliable statistics then; there having been no organization and, generally, not even lists of church members; the first census, in 1867, gives 4,320 members.² The population of the United States in 1860 was thirty-one million, and of the Northern States nineteen million. What were four thousand among so many? It is true that influence is not always commensurate with numbers: the salt of the earth does not weigh pound for pound with the mass it salts. But candor invites the statement that, except in the State of Michigan, where their enterprises had an effect on legislation, they were unheard of in the political circles of the nations. This fact points up the spirit of fairness and consideration for conscience shown in the treatment of this small body by the National Government.

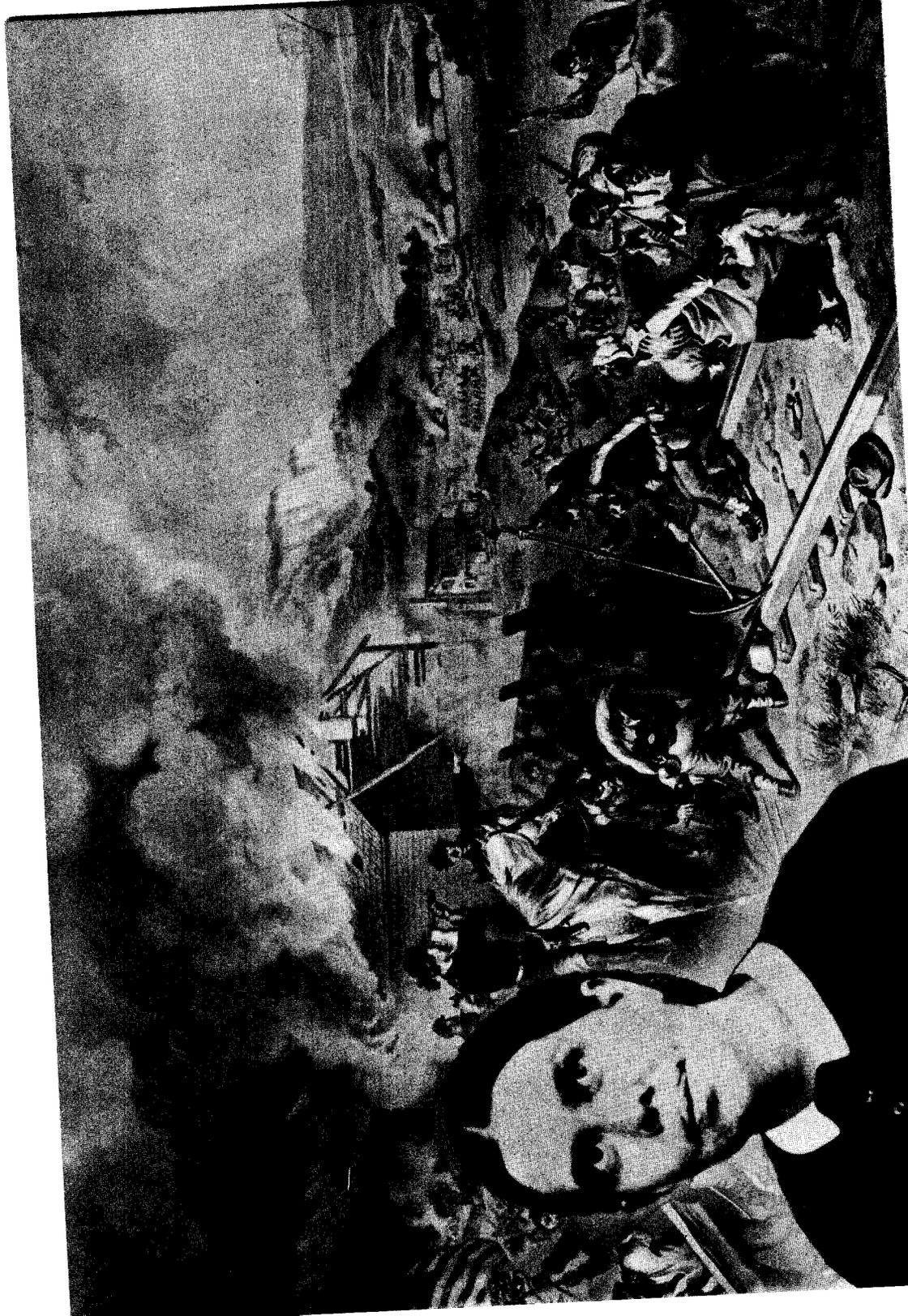
Naturally the sympathies of the Seventh-day Adventist people were with the North. Their origin was in New England, and so far their enterprise had been confined to the Northern States, if we except a single visit to Baltimore by Joseph Bates in 1851,³ and a desultory trip into Missouri by Moses Hull in 1860.⁴ Rhodes and Andrews in 1851 had also labored in Virginia's Wheeling (more a Western than Southern city),⁵ and a sister, evidently a Northern emigrant, writes to the *Review* in 1854 from Yorktown, Virginia.⁶ But all these were only splashes from the wheels of the westward-bound chariot of the third angel, and the war shortly shut them all from view. After the war, however, a company emerges in Missouri, either as a residue of Hull's efforts or from new interest.⁷

But the Christian genius of the Second Advent Movement was in favor of liberty and emancipation. A number of those who engaged in the 1844 evangel had been active in the abolition movement: Himes—a friend of Garrison's—Bates, Jones, Storrs, Fitch, and others.⁸ The sympathies of such as came on

into the third angel's message were not alienated from the cause of the oppressed Negro race; but their abolitionist activities were replaced, as in the case of Bates, with the larger mission of proclaiming the Second Advent, when all men should be free. The awareness of the Seventh-day Adventist people and leaders to the moral issue of slavery, and their fellow feeling for the oppressed, are manifest in occasional articles and references in their writings. Mrs. White's *Early Writings* contains examples; James White, John Loughborough, J. B. Frisbie, and others bring the question into focus; and John Byington, the first president of the General Conference, had kept a station of the Underground Railway on his farm at Buck's Bridge, New York.⁹

Men in the 1850's were loath to believe there would be open conflict, and their wishful thinking led them to the brink in fatuous confidence that the trouble would blow over or be resolved by some wiser Douglas or Crittenden. But a warning was given to the Sabbathkeeping people by the Spirit of prophecy. Three months before the war opened with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, Mrs. White, with her husband and Elders Waggoner, Smith, and Loughborough, was at Parkville, Michigan, for the dedication of the new Seventh-day Adventist meetinghouse at that place. This was on January 12, 1861. At the close of a discourse by Elder White, Mrs. White gave a stirring exhortation, after which she took her seat on the platform. There she was taken into vision. The house was crowded with people, who watched with bated breath in the solemn, tense atmosphere.¹⁰

After her vision Mrs. White rose and, looking about the house, said: "There is not a person in this house who has even dreamed of the trouble that is coming upon this land. People are making sport of the secession ordinance of South Carolina, but I have just been shown that a large number of States are going to join that State, and there will be a most terrible war. In this vision I have seen large armies of both sides gathered on the field of battle. I heard the booming of



the cannon, and saw the dead and dying on every hand. Then I saw them rushing up engaged in hand-to-hand fighting [bayoneting one another]. Then I saw the field after the battle, all covered with the dead and dying. . . . I was taken to the homes of those who had lost husbands, sons, or brothers in the war. I saw there distress and anguish."

Then, looking slowly around the house, she said, "There are those in this house who will lose sons in that war." This was fulfilled in at least ten cases.¹¹

President Buchanan was at that time still in the White House, and his policy of appeasement boded anything but war. The South was sure the North would not fight; and the North was almost equally certain that the counsels of peace in the South would prevail.¹² Even after Lincoln's inauguration, after Fort Sumter had fallen, after South Carolina had declared secession and six States and yet four more had followed her, when the President called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the movement of secession, the response of the people was almost in holiday mood. The young soldiers waved gaily from their trains, crying, "We'll be back in six weeks."

The North, which had been of various minds, now indeed rallied as one man behind the National Government. Douglas, Lincoln's defeated opponent, and ex-Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, who when in office had played the game of the South, all avowed their loyalty and support; and on the other hand antislavery men like Horace Greeley, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips, who had cheerfully waved the slavery States good-by, now, by the guns of Beauregard at Charleston, were rallied behind the Government at Washington.

But it was with no sense of the awful conflict before them that they faced the future. While Southern officials were exultantly declaring that the Stars and Bars would fly above the Capitol at Washington within a month, Northern men were predicting an easy victory, as indeed Lincoln's call for only a

Three months before the outbreak of the War Between the States, Mrs. White saw in vision and described some aspects of the terrible conflict that would ensue.

three-month enlistment foreshadowed. And when in July the raw Union Army of McDowell's moved out of Washington to meet Beauregard at Manassas, they were accompanied by Congressmen and their ladies, who went out to "see the rebellion crushed by a single blow." Five days later the battle of Bull Run had been fought, and the "Grand Army" was fleeing in utter rout to the Potomac and Washington. The nation was rocked back on its heels by the blow, and came suddenly to the consciousness that conquering the South was to be a stiff, bloody, agonizing struggle.

For two years the volunteer system was depended on to fill the Union ranks; but defeat of a succession of generals in the Virginia campaigns caused such discouragement as to threaten the integrity of the army. Soldiers were deserting by the thousand every week, while hundreds of officers left the army on extended leaves. In desperation the Government at last resorted to the draft, a policy which the South had adopted almost from the beginning. But so gloomy was the outlook in the North that Lincoln's administration was widely proclaimed a failure, and the midterm Congressional elections yielded Democratic gains in the most important Northern States.

God was watching from the shadows. There was a moral question involved which the nation's leaders might not evade. Intent upon their announced purpose of preserving the Union, they had dodged the vital question of slavery. Political expediency seemed to demand this; for behind the Union armies still were four slave States which had with difficulty been preserved to the Union, and whose support the administration felt they could not afford to jeopardize by any move toward emancipation. Yet this policy brought no victory. Wrote Mrs. White, "God is punishing this nation for the high crime of slavery. He has the destiny of the nation in His hands. He will punish the South for the sin of slavery, and the North for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence."¹³

This was the conviction of the friends of freedom throughout the North, and, it may be added, of the moral forces of England, a nation which was in position to shape the political attitude of Europe toward the American conflict. While the English Government and aristocracy mostly inclined to the Confederate States, both because of commercial interests and because of antagonism from past wars, the middle and working classes and the liberal church elements hoped for the freeing of the slave. But until the purpose of the North should evidently become such emancipation, they were not ready to cast their influence unreservedly in its favor. In America, in the Federal States, the abolition elements cried out against the policy of the Government in divorcing the slavery question from the cause of the Union; and the early course, strangely inherited from the Fugitive Slave Law, of the army's returning runaway slaves to their Confederate masters, was excoriated as conforming neither to moral law nor to military advantage. An editorial in the *Review and Herald* of November 12, 1861, "The War, and Its Causes," emphasized this viewpoint.

Abraham Lincoln, Southern born in the great nonslaveholding class, schooled in poverty and adversity, nurtured on the Bible and the doctrines of American freedom, was ever a foe of slavery. But he was not of the Garrison or Greeley pattern, to risk all upon one desperate throw. His first mission, he conceived, under his oath as President, was to preserve the Union; and he answered Greeley's editorial, "Prayer of Twenty Millions," calling upon Lincoln to free the slaves at once. He said, "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. . . . What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union."

This was not the viewpoint of those who saw, not a political, but a moral issue. Whether they or he was right is one of the moot questions, along with the question of whether emancipation might have been accomplished without war, if

the Abolitionists had not stirred it up. Who can say? The answer depends not upon a single condition but upon several. If the moral conscience of the nation could finally have been aroused to the tremendous boiling point of emancipation without war—but could it? If the war could have been more successfully fought had the issue been clearly enunciated as the freeing of the slaves—but could it? In the beginning the North was not a unit against slavery, but they were almost unanimously against secession. Would the standard of freedom for a subject race have rallied a greater or more enthusiastic support? or would it have dampened the spirits of the Union's defenders? Some of the principal Union generals were contemptuous of the slave and opposed to his freeing; some in the Government were well-nigh traitorous because of their sympathy with slavery. However hard it was for the friends of freedom to watch the slow marshaling of moral power in the cause of the Union, it seems to have been God's way of dealing with the minds of the men with whom He must deal.

Lincoln's heart was burdened with the woes of the nation, and not least with the misery of a race in bondage. That God was punishing the nation for the crime of slavery was likewise his conviction, as voiced in his second inaugural address: "Until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword; as was said 3,000 years ago, so still must it be said, that 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" But the institution of the law, the aegis of the Constitution, under which he must act, gave no facile aid. So cumbersome is the armor of Saul for the free movements of David.

Lincoln conceived and sought to put into operation a freeing of all the slaves by Federal compensation to their owners. He proposed this to Congress, and sought the support of the statesmen of the yet loyal slave States. But they held back, and refused to cooperate; and naturally in that circumstance Congress would not move. It was a bitter disappointment to Lincoln, but it was evidence that the friends

of slavery were in no mood for its abolition by any means. He then became more favorable to military emancipation. As President, he had no authority to abolish slavery by his dictum, for such an act was the prerogative of Congress; but as commander-in-chief of the army he saw his way, on the plea of military strategy, to accomplish in great part his purpose. The Negro slaves were an invaluable asset to the South, for they could and did maintain the plantations and the general economy, leaving the white men for military service. To strike a military blow against the South, Lincoln would declare all slaves in service of the enemy to be free.

He formed this resolution in midsummer of 1862, when the fortunes of the Union seemed almost lost; but he was persuaded by his Secretary of State, Seward, that the time was inopportune, since it might be taken as a cry of desperation. He continually mulled it over in his mind; and when Lee invaded Maryland in August, he made his great decision, that, given a victory, he would act. The victory came at Antietam; and six days later Lincoln, summoning his cabinet, told them: "I determined, as soon as [Lee] should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation. . . . I made the promise to myself and—to my Maker. . . . I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself." On that same day, September 22, he made the announcement of the proclamation which, on January 1, 1863, he issued and made effective immediately that "all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people . . . shall be then thenceforward, and forever free. . . . And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

The Emancipation Proclamation, indeed, had little immediate effect; for it set free only the slaves in the revolted States, and there it could not be enforced until that territory was conquered. There remained five States (including Tennessee,

which had been won back and now had as military governor (the fiercely Unionist Andrew Johnson), in which the terms of the proclamation freed no slaves. Yet the Emancipation Proclamation stands as one of the immortal acts of history, and its cumulative effects were felt up to the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, freeing and giving the suffrage to all Negroes in the United States.

Soon after the proclamation the tide turned. The victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg were hailed on the next Fourth of July; and from that point on the tide was turned. Nevertheless, the two years that followed were a time of sore trial and distress. The draft was unpopular; Grant's blows at Lee were like hammer on anvil; and the finances of the National treasury were in severe straits.

To the little band of Seventh-day Adventists the draft brought great fear and distress. They were in faith noncombatants, and the banner of their faith was the Sabbath. Neither of these convictions would be honored in the Army. Although their sympathies were with the Union, and in all civic support they were ready, they believed they could not as Christians bear arms and take the lives of their fellow men. Yet in this position, especially in so small and obscure a sect, did not commend them to their fellow citizens. Even the well-known and accepted Quakers had difficulty in this. There was in the North a party of Southern sympathizers, dubbed by the Unionists "Copperheads," with whom anyone opposed to being drafted was easily identified. And there were naturally some rash spirits among the Adventists who were overvaliant in proclaiming their noncombatancy, some of them declaring publicly that they would die before they would serve.

In answer to this party James White wrote an editorial, "The Nation," in the August 12, 1862, *Review and Herald*, declaring the perfect loyalty of Seventh-day Adventists, their belief that the sixth commandment forbids Christians to engage actively in war, yet warning the believers not to go to

extremes in advance of their trial, and finally leaving the matter in the hands of God. And Mrs. White wrote: "Those who have been forward to talk so decidedly about refusing to obey a draft, . . . should they really be drafted, . . . would shrink, and then find that they had not prepared themselves for such an emergency. . . . Those who would be best prepared to sacrifice even life, if required, rather than place themselves where they could not obey God, would have the least to say. They would make no boast. . . . Their earnest prayers would go up to Heaven for wisdom to act and grace to endure."¹⁴

Provision was made in the law for noncombatant service of those who "are conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms, and who are prohibited from doing so by the rules and articles of faith and practice of such religious denomination"; but Seventh-day Adventists had as yet no such standing before the law. When the war began, they were not a corporate body. In the year 1861 they effected their first organization, the publishing house, and also formed the first conference, Michigan; during the next year seven other State conferences were formed; but it was 1863, in the midst of the war, when the General Conference was organized. The value of organization was immediately apparent, not only in the internal affairs of the church, but in its external relations. Had there been no organized church, it could not have spoken for its people to the Government, and there could have been no recognition of its noncombatant principles, which have borne such good fruit since then.

The draft pressed ever closer as the months went on, and in the summer of 1864 it was decided to send a representative to Washington to present the case of the little church to the authorities. The man chosen for this mission was John N. Andrews. He left Battle Creek for Washington the last of August, armed with credentials from the General Conference, with a pamphlet, "The Draft," which set forth the position of Seventh-day Adventists, and which contained the endorsement of Austin Blair, governor of Michigan, and with recommendations

from the Michigan Military Agency, a provost marshal in Rochester, and a former member of Congress from New York, who were acquainted with him. Thus fortified, he was introduced to Brigadier General James B. Fry, the Provost Marshal General of the United States, and was kindly received. General Fry stated that the exemption clause was not construed by him to mean Quakers only; it applied to any religious body that held noncombatant views. He issued orders to all deputy marshals in the Union concerning Seventh-day Adventists in accordance with this construction. Andrews' papers were copied and placed on file for reference. Seventh-day Adventists serving in the army were, with all other and better known non-combatants, to be assigned to hospital or other noncombatant duties; and from that precedent the noncombatant service of Seventh-day Adventists in later wars dates.¹⁵

The law also provided, as an alternative, that if the non-combatant paid \$300 "commutation," the Government would furnish a substitute soldier. This plan was resorted to by many who were not Seventh-day Adventists, and a fund was raised by popular subscription to help worthy poor men thus to avoid military service. Some Sabbathkeepers took advantage of this provision, and an effort was made in the Seventh-day Adventist Church to raise a fund to cover them; but as it was discovered that this would soon go beyond the resources of the body, if the war continued and the draft should take, as estimated, every third man, the majority submitted to the draft, trusting to the provision for their noncombatant service. As in later times, some of them found that subordinate officers were not always ready to grant what the War Department had ordered; appeals were difficult and uncertain; and not a little trouble and injustice resulted, though there is no record of the extreme penalty of death being enforced, as was often threatened.

In the Civil War, Seventh-day Adventists attracted comparatively little attention, being few; and in the small wars between 1865 and 1914 there was no necessity for their decla-

ration, service being voluntary. But in World War I and World War II they have stood out in bold relief by their gallant and faithful service at posts of danger, always in performance of acts of mercy and relief rather than in destruction.

During the Civil War the excitement and pressure on the public in great degree hampered the work of proclaiming the gospel message. It was a time seized upon to effect a well-knit organization and to begin to establish the great principles of health and hygiene for which the church has become celebrated. These accomplishments are presented in other chapters.

It was, moreover, a time of soul searching for leaders and people. To the thoughtful and the spiritually-minded the questions involved in the war went deeper, were more intimate, than the issues of battles and the conspiracies of politicians. If, as Lincoln said, this terrible war was the woe God dealt out to North and South for the offense of slavery, if the conflict would determine whether this nation, dedicated to freedom, could long endure, there lay behind both propositions the character of the souls of men who made up the citizenry of both North and South. For a nation is not a being endowed with a soul, with the citizens the offspring; a nation is the sum of the souls of its component parts, the citizens. Not, what the nation is, that will men be; but, what men are, that will the nation be. Except there be a wholesome individual life in the majority of men, or except at least there be a potent preserving element, a saving salt, in the champions of morality, who give promise of victory for the right, woes will overwhelm, and the nation will cease to be.

It is a basic issue, commonly overlooked, that individual men must reform and grow in righteousness, if the nation is to be saved. The opposite is tacitly assumed. Men look rather to mass movements, started they know not how, than to personal repentance, conversion, and reformation. This seems too small and insignificant a matter when the fate of the nation or the survival of its ideals is concerned. The responsi-

bility of the individual is forgotten in the hope of a collective recovery and advancement. Yet reflection will show us that morality must start with the individual; and history bears the uniform testimony that what its people are, that will the state be. Upon the sound character of its citizens, and this only, can a stable government be founded. And though the process is a slow and often imperceptible action, there is no substitute. There can be no forest except as a seedling and myriad seedlings beside it receive nourishment, aspire to the sun, add year by year to their substance, and stand forth at last as mighty timbers of enduring worth.

And what is profitable to the state in the nature of its citizens, what is indispensable to the church in the character of its constituents, is most of all vital to the individual in the salvation of his soul. A man must first of all be free in the depths of his consciousness ere he can minister freedom to other men. He must be true and honest before he can maintain the probity of his government. He must be understanding and sympathetic to his family and to his neighbors before he can uphold the tenets of justice and righteousness in the affairs of the nation. And when he is thus free and true and generous, he abides in the love of God.

No man takes this character to himself, for it is not in him to be godlike. Yet it is possible for him to reach toward, even to reach, the ideal, through the gift of the grace of God in Christ Jesus our Saviour. And to attain to this state of personal virtue is at once the duty of the citizen, the responsibility of the Christian, and the salvation of every man.

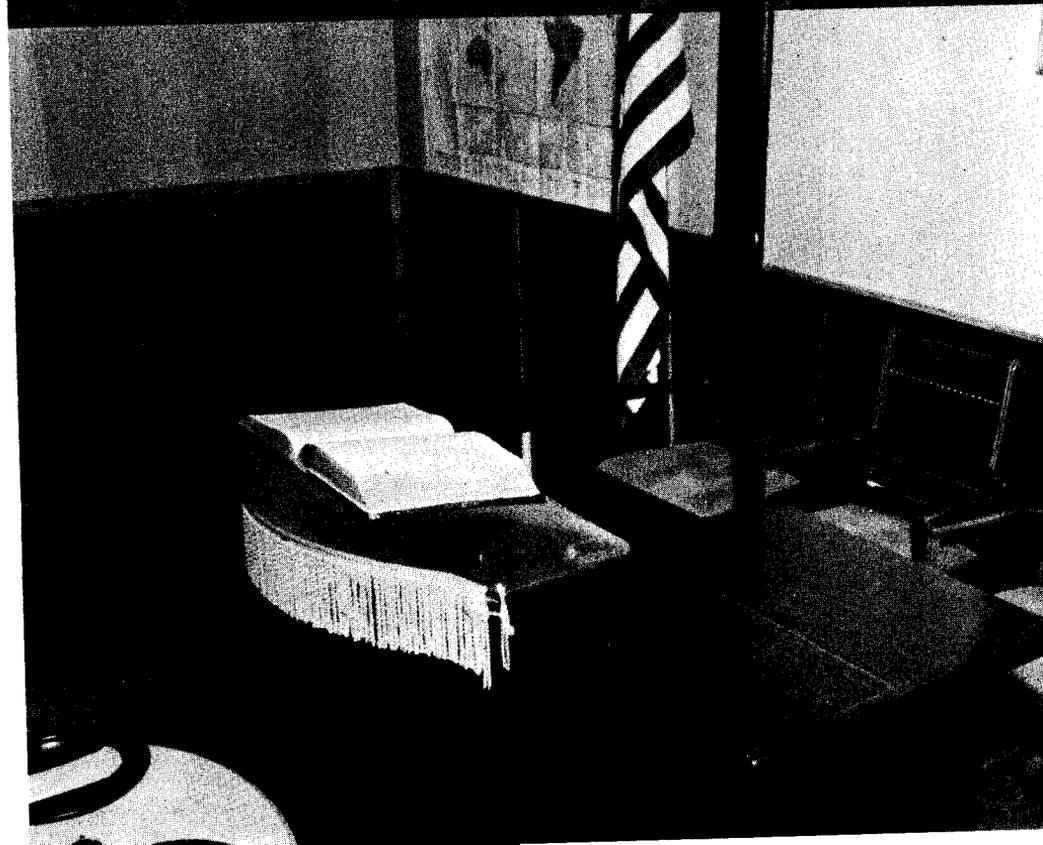
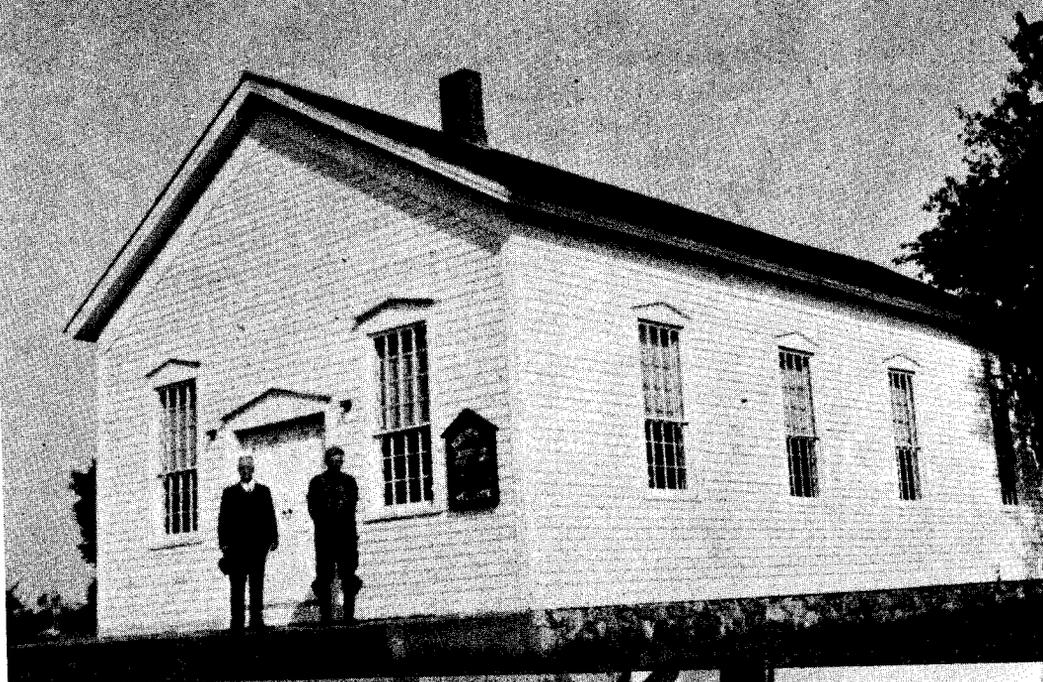
These considerations revolved in the minds of the church's leaders and of many laymen during the critical days of the Civil War. Problems of personal liberty, of loyalty to God when challenged by loyalty to government, were the superficial though sufficiently deep problems confronting members of the little denomination. Deeper than these were the questions of moral right in the issue of slavery, of preservation of human rights through the best government yet known to man, and,

basic to them all, the question of church and individual relationship to God. Peace, through the cessation of armed conflict, was devoutly to be desired; but peace in the individual soul was first of all to be sought and found. Let the Spirit of God work in the minds of men, and peace would spread from soul to soul and from home and hamlet to camp and cabinet. Wait not for the multitude; let not the host be numbered, for it is nothing to God to work by many or by few. The question is not, Shall Washington and Richmond come to terms? but first, Shall my soul come into harmony with God?

E. Everts wrote in 1856: "My brethren, you keep in mind that Christians are a different company, a little flock, separated, chosen out of the world, to be lights in, or to, the world."¹⁶ The counsel of James White for several years before the war and after it had started is summed up in an editorial in 1861: "The prevailing spirit of the age seems to be that of secession and dissolution. In the hearts of the wicked and ambitious we cannot perhaps expect that any better principles would rule. . . . But such a spirit has no business among brethren. Those who compose the body of Christ on earth . . . have no right to wage war among themselves."¹⁷

And the counsel of Mrs. White was given early in the war, in these words: "I was shown God's people waiting for some change to take place,—a compelling power to take hold of them. But they will be disappointed, for they are wrong. They must act; they must take hold of the work themselves, and earnestly cry to God for a true knowledge of themselves. The scenes which are passing before us are of sufficient magnitude to cause us to arouse, and urge the truth home to the hearts of all who will listen. The harvest of the earth is nearly ripe."¹⁸

Sabbath, August 3, 1861, was set apart as a day "for humiliation, fasting, and prayer." The North indeed was humbled, for the first battle of the war, Bull Run, had been fought and lost. It was high time for the nation to submit its confessions to God and to seek forgiveness and divine favor. But



whatever the attitude of the nation, it was a time for those who looked for the end of all things soon, to bury their pride and self-sufficiency and to seek God with all sincerity and humility. The church everywhere responded, and a deepening piety resulted.

James and Ellen White were in the State of New York on that day, and met with the country church of Roosevelt. In that historic building, where important conferences had been and were to be held, Mrs. White was taken into vision and "shown the sin of slavery, which has so long been a curse to this nation." Viewing scenes that included but went beyond the present, she reported: "I was shown the inhabitants of the earth in the utmost confusion. War, bloodshed, privation, want, famine, and pestilence were abroad in the land. As these things surrounded God's people, they began to press together, and to cast aside their little difficulties. Self-dignity no longer controlled them; deep humility took its place. Suffering, perplexity, and privation caused reason to resume its throne, and the passionate and unreasonable man became sane, and acted with discretion and wisdom."¹⁹

Seventh-day Adventists were practically unanimous in their abhorrence of slavery and in their support of government, so nearly unanimous that when one man stood out as a proslavery advocate, he received the attention he courted. One such man, and the only one recorded, there was at Roosevelt; and for him Mrs. White had a message: "You . . . have permitted your political principles to destroy your judgment and your love for the truth. They are eating out true godliness from your heart. You have never looked upon slavery in the right light, and your views of this matter have thrown you on the side of . . . Satan and his host. Your views of slavery cannot harmonize with the sacred, important truths for this time. You must yield your views or the truth. Both cannot be cherished in the same heart; for they are at war with each other."²⁰

One who knew this man testifies that he was soon converted;²¹ and that is a testimonial to the spirit of repentance

Upper: Church at Roosevelt, New York, where Mrs. White often spoke. The vision of the Battle of Manassas was given here. Lower: The pulpit is the same one she occupied while addressing the believers.

and devotion which then began to permeate the church. The consecration and resulting unity which ensued from this period of fasting and prayer permitted James White to write, the next year, "We know of not one man among Seventh-day Adventists who has the least sympathy for secession."²²

The tightening coils of war during the next three years served to draw closer in brotherhood, bow lower before the will and purpose of God, and lift up in supplication the hearts of the members of the church. The thick clouds that hung over the fate of the nation, laboring and groaning with the sacrifices and the losses of war, found their silver lining with the faithful in their increasing dependence upon divine blessing. The people of God must find their peace in Him, that the work of the gospel of peace might go on.

In the beginning of the year 1865, though the fortunes of war had definitely turned in favor of the Union, there was still such desperate resistance in the South; such danger of defeat; such weariness of war, that daylight seemed to many no nearer.

At the third annual session of the General Conference, in January, 1865, action was taken declaring the loyalty of this people to the United States Government, and at the same time making clear their noncombatant position. James White then wrote:

"In view of the foregoing, we recommend to our people that prayer and giving of thanks for those in authority constitute a proper portion of their Sabbath and other seasons of public worship, and, also, of family and private devotions. And besides this, we recommend that the second Sabbath in each month be especially set apart to fasting and prayer in view of the present terrible war, and the peculiar relations which noncombatants sustain to the government, that they may still enjoy liberty of conscience, and lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty."²³

The first special day of fasting and prayer was set as February 11. The blessing of this day called for further seeking

of God, and the General Conference Committee then set March 1-4 for prayer. They said: "The mind of the nation is so absorbed in this dreadful contest that it is almost impossible to call attention to religious subjects. . . . And now suppose this work to go on, and a call for men to come as it almost inevitably would, every five or six months, what could we do? The cause would be crushed. We are thus brought, as it plainly appears to us, to a place where if the war continues, we must stop. . . . Which shall it be? Relying upon God, and having confidence in the efficacy of prayer, and the indications of His prophetic word, we believe that the work of God must not be hindered. . . . God's work in these last days must not, will not stop.

"We pray God to arouse the attention of His people to these things. And we would recommend, nay more, earnestly request, all our churches and scattered brethren, to set apart four days commencing Wednesday, March 1, and continuing till the close of the following Sabbath, as days of earnest and importunate prayer over this subject. Let business be suspended, and the churches meet at 1 o'clock on the afternoon of each of the week days, and twice on the Sabbath, to pour out their supplications before God. These meetings should be free from anything like discussions, and be characterized by humiliation, confessions, prayers for light and truth, and efforts for a fresh and individual experience in the things of God. . . .

"During these days of prayer, we recommend on the part of all a very abstemious and simple diet, Dan. x:3, while some may more or less abstain from food, as their health may permit, or their feelings may prompt. Labor will be suspended at the Review Office, and there will consequently be no paper next week, but one early the week following."²⁴

As one man, the church turned to take hold of the arm of Omnipotence. Forgetting themselves, they pleaded for the cause of God, that it be not crowded off the earth and out of the lives of men. "Never," wrote James White at conclusion

of this season of prayer, "have we realized such intensity of feeling—such drawing of the Spirit to the very throne of Heaven—such confidence in the answer of fervent prayers—as during these days of humiliation and prayer. The influence of this season has had a most blessed and sanctifying result upon the church. We have not seen better times in Battle Creek, and testimony from all parts of the field agrees with ours." ²⁵

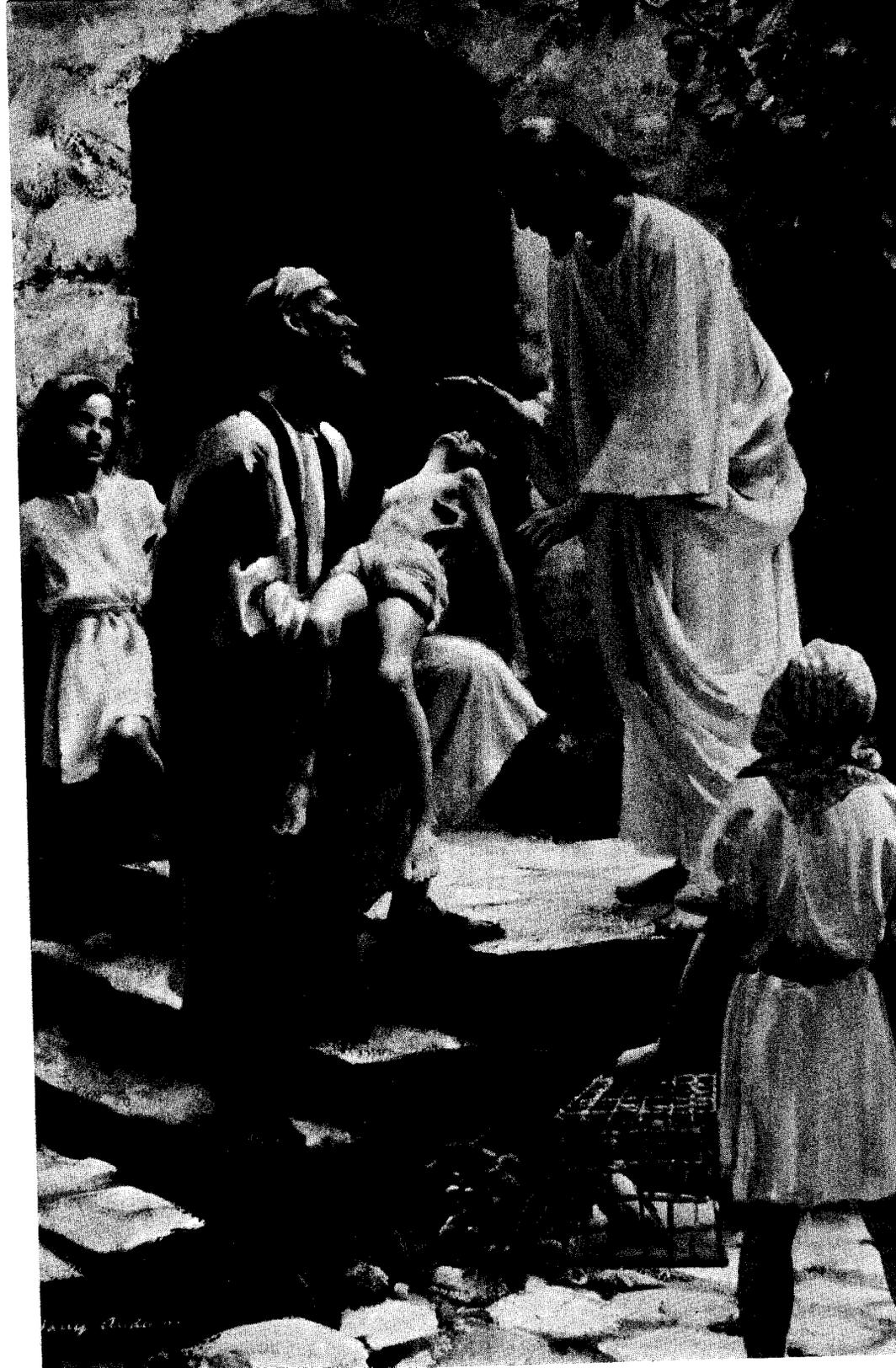
However insignificant in numbers, and therefore of how little weight in the councils of men, the members of the little church of Seventh-day Adventists could have given no greater service to their country than by thus cleansing their souls and allying themselves with divine power. No greater service could all the people of the nation have given than by a like performance. "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people."

In His inscrutable wisdom, having permitted the cup of woe to be drained by the nation, having purified His people of selfish thought, and bound their wills to His, God put forth His hand and touched the machine of war, and lo! it stopped, and there was silence. Scarce a month had passed when, on April 9, Lee surrendered at Appomattox, and on April 26 Johnston capitulated at Durham. The war was over.

But alas! between the two surrenders, on April 14, Lincoln was assassinated. An instrument of God to break the shackles of the slave, to draw together the fratricidal States, he yet was not permitted continued life to bind up the wounds of the nation. Yet perhaps in the vision of God his work was finished. His wise, unselfish life, crowned by his martyrdom, won for him, in place of partisan vilification, the halo which he shares alone with Washington.

For the cause of God, in the experience of the Seventh-day Adventist people, the war, despite its horrors, its hardships, its grief, was a crucible in which was refined the gold of faith. The church came out of the Civil War purified, strengthened, and fitted for greater service in evangelism and living.

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- ¹ See Appendix.
- ² The first statistics presented were at the General Conference of 1867, when the membership was reported to be 4,320. (*Review and Herald*, May 28, 1867.) Uriah Smith, in 1890, states that the earliest statistics were in 1869, when, he says, there were 4,900 members. (*Seventh-day Adventist Year Book*, 1890, p. 164.)
- ³ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 7, 1851, p. 36.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1860, p. 189.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1851.
- ⁶ [Sister] U. Bucklin in *Review and Herald*, Feb. 21, 1854, p. 39.
- ⁷ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 17, 1865; Nov. 13, 1866.
- ⁸ F. D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, pp. 174-185.
- ⁹ See Appendix.
- ¹⁰ See Appendix.
- ¹¹ J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, pp. 236, 237.
- ¹² Such as Alexander Stevens, of Georgia, who became vice-president of the Confederacy, but who before secession did his best to prevent it.
- ¹³ *Review and Herald*, Aug. 27, 1861, p. 100; Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 264.
- ¹⁴ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 357.
- ¹⁵ See Appendix.
- ¹⁶ *Review and Herald*, July 31, 1856, p. 103.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1861, p. 104.
- ¹⁸ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 261.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 268.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 359.
- ²¹ Mrs. H. E. Kolb letter to C. L. Taylor, June 1, 1948.
- ²² *Review and Herald*, Aug. 12, 1862, p. 84.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1865, p. 77.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1865, p. 100.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 25, 1865, p. 164.



LAUNCHING A HEALTH PROGRAM*

THE days of our fathers were days of many afflictions. They were smitten with sore diseases, described as lung fever, consumption, fever and ague, scrofula, salt rheum, diphtheria, typhoid, cholera, rheumatism, indigestion, catarrh, and so forth. For relief their physicians gave them calomel, strychnine, mercury, ipecac, nux vomica, opium, Peruvian bark, alcohol, and tobacco. They forbade them water internally or externally, bled them, and on occasion sawed them asunder. Baths were accounted hazardous; children were sometimes "sewed up" for the season in their winter clothing; and except for the old swimming hole or, with the extremely fastidious, the weekly wash-off in the wooden tub by the kitchen stove, ablutions were reckoned a part of the unnecessary sorrows.

The settlers in the Northwest, where there were many marshes, were particularly subject to malaria, "fever and ague"; and as Walter Reed was yet a generation or two in the future, they had no idea that the pestiferous mosquito was to blame, but ascribed their illnesses to "night air," which they shut out, as they supposed, by keeping doors and windows tightly closed. In the absence of screens, perhaps their method was 50 per cent correct, despite the carbon dioxide.

The diet was heavy, laden with meats (bear's meat or hog), filled with grease, hot with condiments (native peppers or imported spices). On the frontier it was washed down with cider or whisky and in the effete East with tea and coffee. No one—almost no one—saw any relation between this diet and the ills of the flesh they endured. Job had boils, and Timothy had

* A comprehensive and well-documented account of the progress of health teachings among this people is contained in D. E. Robinson's *The Story of Our Health Message*, to which I am indebted for much valuable information.

Like the sufferers in Galilee of old, our early workers, when stricken with disabling diseases, often came to the Saviour through prayer, and many were thus providentially restored.

stomach trouble. Dyspepsia, humors, catarrh, fevers, the plague—all these were visitations of an inscrutable Providence, intended to torment the wicked and to perfect the saints for an early entrance into Paradise.

We of today, with our improved (though not perfected) diet, our advanced sanitation, our education in hygiene, our enlightened physicians, and our immaculate hospitals, can scarcely conceive of the poor health that prevailed among our forebears of two or three generations ago. Their active outdoor life, indeed, to a great extent offset their disabilities, and with their resolute and martyr-conditioned wills enabled them to carry on, between spells, with a heroism that deserved relief.

To behold in the midst of this plagued multitude so erect and immune a figure as Joseph Bates, who went his way apparently with never the least indisposition or illness, excites a wonder that we would suppose his contemporaries might share. Perhaps they did, but in their philosophy it could be referred to that same all-wise Providence which gives to some men ills and to others blessings, by grace and not by works.

In the greater matters of temperance Bates was indeed outspoken; and of his success in this reform he says, in a letter to a friend, "The pipes and tobacco are traveling out of sight fast, I tell you"; but in his more advanced principles he was content to bear mainly a silent testimony. When asked why he did not eat flesh foods, or highly spiced foods, or greasy foods, he was wont to reply, "I have eaten my share of them." Yet his principles and his reasons were well enough understood so that, when at a church picnic dinner which included "tempting eatables" and "swine's flesh," he asked a blessing upon "the clean, nutritious, wholesome, lawful food," there were meaningful looks and smiles and nudges and whispered comments. There was no bushel over his light; but finding most people unresponsive, he avoided obstructing his religious mission by obtruding the lesser points of his gospel of hygiene, and resigned himself to be a living epistle in health, known but not read of all men. There were, nevertheless, a few lay

members who were affected by Elder Bates's example, some of whom, lacking his judgment, ran ahead in their advocacy of dietary reforms, and proved by the disorder they evoked the wisdom of his course.

Bates, indeed, was an exemplar of the cause of temperance championed by such early leaders as Dr. Benjamin Rush, William Alcott, and Lyman Beecher, and of the gospel of health proclaimed by such apostles as Dr. Sylvester Graham, Horace Greeley, Dr. James C. Jackson, and Dr. R. T. Trall. In this latter teaching, prime tenets were vegetarianism and a return to all natural foods. Dr. Trall and Dr. Jackson were also advocates and practitioners of water treatments, or "hydropathy," as these were then termed. Dr. Trall conducted a school of health, the Hygic-Therapeutic College, at Florence Heights, New Jersey; and Dr. Jackson had established at Dansville, New York, a health institution which he called, with exaggerated simplicity, "Our Home on the Hillside," of the character, in great part, of what was later named by Seventh-day Adventists the sanitarium. But aside from Bates's early acquaintance with this school of teaching, at least with Sylvester Graham's, the pioneers of the Seventh-day Adventist movement were oblivious to it. Their thoughts and energies were taken up in proclaiming the third angel's message. And that they saw in one dimension only.

These pioneers were not consciously intemperate, however; and they were in advance of the majority of the population in their habits of health, with two exceptions. Initially more temperate than Bates, James White and John Andrews never in their lives touched liquor or tobacco.¹ John Loughborough, who puffed big black cigars on the recommendation of his physician, for lung trouble, threw his supply into the river on the eve of his conversion to the third angel's message. Samuel Rhodes invoked the prayers of his brethren to enable him to overcome the tobacco habit, and they prevailed. Joseph Waggoner, on the day he became a Seventh-day Adventist, threw his plug into the stove.

Tobacco was the filthy god of America, even as it is today in slightly different forms. A curious exchange of poisons had occurred between the white man and the red man. Alcohol, to which the European had developed some tolerance, was destructive firewater to the Indian; and tobacco, which the Indian used temperately, was the enslaver of the white American. He chewed and smoked and sniffed; the spittoon or sawdust box was an indispensable article of furniture, and even religious meetings were often blue with the incense of the devil. The jeweled snuffbox from which the elegant colonial took his pinch had indeed fallen to the low estate of the pouch and the snuff stick, practically restricted to the ladies, who also comforted themselves with the pipe to an extent comparable to the modern feminine use of the cigarette. To minds at all sensitive to spiritual impulses, tobacco condemned itself as a filthy habit, even though its physical damage might be unknown or only suspected.

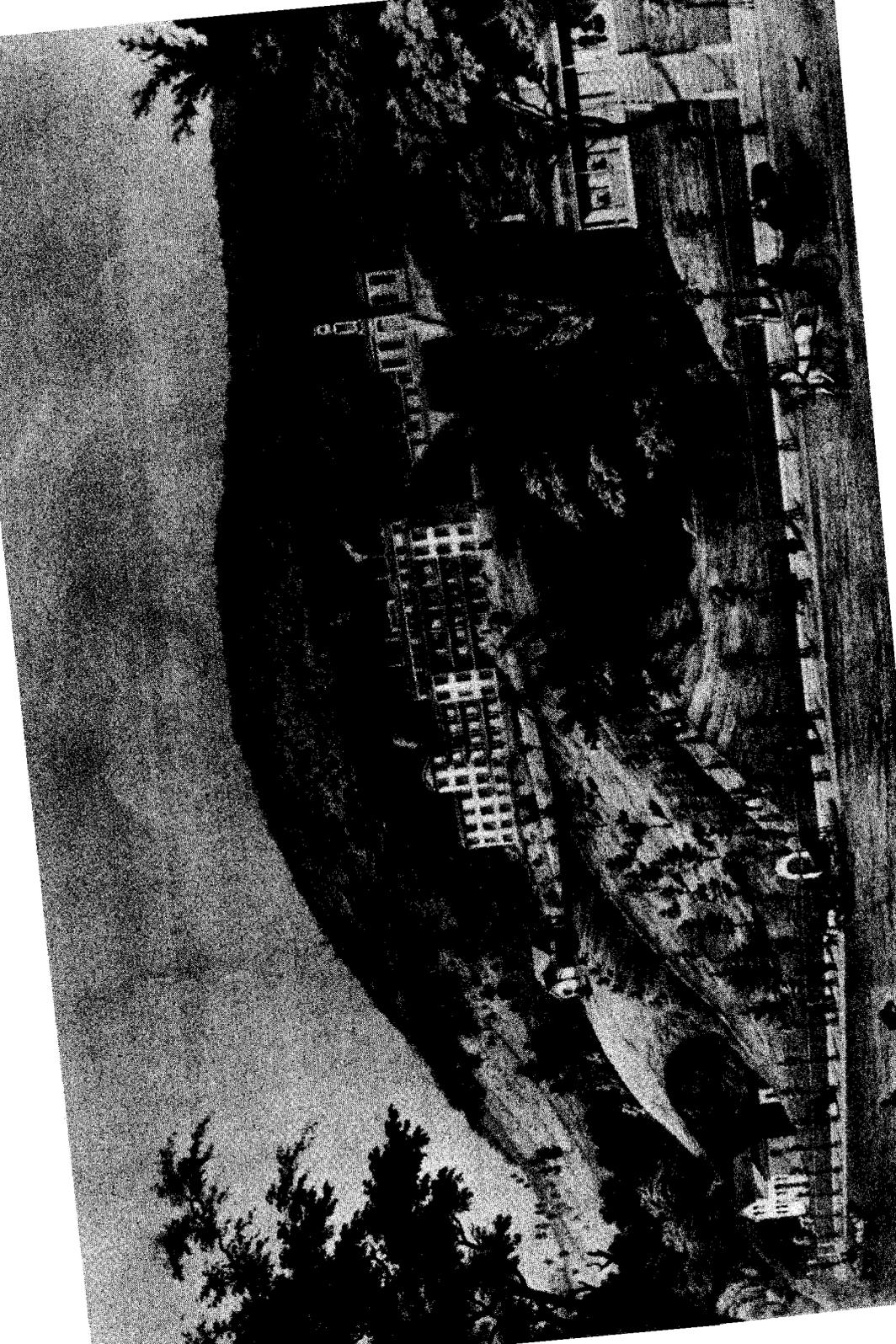
The weed early became an object of abhorrence to the new church. In 1848 Elder and Mrs. White took their stand publicly against tobacco, and also against tea and coffee. Mrs. White in 1851 wrote that tobacco was an idol which must be given up; and by 1853 the columns of the *Review and Herald* frequently contained both original and clipped articles against it. By 1855 the sentiment had become so strong that, for instance, the Vermont Conference voted disfellowshipment of tobacco users, though the next year, having found the going hard, they replaced this resolution with one which bound them "perseveringly to persuade each brother and sister who indulge in the use of it, to abstain."²

The abandonment of alcoholic liquors seems never to have been an issue in this church, though the apple orchards of believers, like others, might sometimes tempt with hard cider; the temperance crusade had fairly captured the most religious people. Tea and coffee drinking, however, was almost universal, and as the injuriousness of these beverages was taught along with the campaign against tobacco, they soon passed un-

der the ban. Thus to an extent the early Seventh-day Adventist Church was reformed from poisonous drugs.

But in diet and intemperate work habits the leaders (always excepting Bates) were offenders. Let J. N. Andrews, writing in 1871, speak for himself and in essence for his brethren: "I did not know that late suppers, and "hearty" ones at that, were serious evils. I had no idea of any special transgression in eating between meals; and though this was mostly confined to fruit, I did herein ignorantly transgress to a very considerable extent. I supposed old cheese was good to aid digestion! Do not smile at my folly; unless my memory is at fault, I had learned this out of "standard medical works." As to mince-pie and sausage, I had no thought that these were unwholesome, unless too highly seasoned, or, as it was termed, "made too *rich*." Hot biscuit and butter, doughnuts, pork in every form, pickles, preserves, tea, coffee, etc., etc., were all in common use. Of ventilation I understood almost nothing. . . . I must also expose my ignorance, by confessing that I had little other idea of headache, dyspepsia, nausea, fevers, etc., than that these were, for the most part, wholly beyond our control, and that, like the various phenomena of nature, they were ordered by God's hand, and man had generally no agency therein. . . . However much I lacked in other respects, I did not lack in zeal to labor in the work I had undertaken; and I think I may say in truth that I felt in some degree the responsibility of my calling. My anxiety of mind was constant, and oftentimes extreme. Associated with a few others in the defense, or rather in the attempt to advance, an unpopular truth, there fell to my lot a heavy burden of anxious care, and the necessity of much over-taxing labor, oftentimes requiring not the day merely, but much, or even all, of the night.' "

In consequence, "in less than five years I was utterly prostrated. My voice was destroyed, I supposed permanently; my eyesight was considerably injured; I could not rest by day, and I could not sleep well at night; I was a serious sufferer from dyspepsia; and as to that mental depression which at-



tends this disease, I think I have a sufficient acquaintance with it to dispense with it.' ”³

Andrews' breakdown was serious enough, but from the beginning James and Ellen White exceeded in illnesses. Equally with their younger friend, they used the night as well as the day in labors; they were little more careful in diet; and they carried even heavier burdens. Ellen Harmon White began her work, it seemed, with one foot in the grave; her husband acquired that New England badge of sainthood, dyspepsia. Time and again one or the other was stricken down by exhaustion or contagious disease. Three times in his career James White had a stroke of paralysis, and five times Mrs. White was likewise afflicted. But God was merciful to them, and in their ignorance of the laws of life He honored prayer in their behalf by lifting them out of their illness and disablements. They were greatly blessed on many occasions by physical as well as spiritual power being given for emergencies, when they went forward in faith and devotion. The times of their ignorance God winked at, but soon commanded a knowledge of the natural laws and obedience thereto as the conditions of health.

The effect on other laborers of ignorance of dietetic and hygienic laws was evident in the history of the work. Loughborough records his breakdown; Edson was invalided, as was D. T. Bourdeau; Smith, being lame,⁴ excused himself from physical exercise, overworked mentally, was injudicious in diet, and suffered the consequences; Waggoner, with wifely opposition,⁵ made slow progress toward perfect health. And of nearly all the pioneers a similar record might be made.

The influence of ill-health in dissension and rebellion should doubtless not be overstressed, for the spirit should rule the flesh; yet that diet played a part is indisputable. The heavy meat consumption and the use of fiery condiments were hindrances to self-control and balance, and tobacco remained a temptation to which the diet ministered. Cranmer departed because of tobacco; Snook was nervously debilitated; Hull alternated spells of moroseness with levity. Holt and Rhodes, early

companions of the Whites, became progressively alienated as their health declined. From the powerful and often thrilling communications of their early ministry, their reports decline into conventional types, or on occasion acknowledgment of wrongdoing. Though both confessed their faults and were reconciled, they dropped out of active ministry about 1863. Rhodes's temperament was fiery, and his diet did not help him. He was for some years sorely beset with malaria, bronchitis, catarrh, and dyspepsia, his ministry became erratically severe; and with difficulty he received the testimonies and counsel given him. Holt was more phlegmatic, but neither did counsels concerning his family please him; he was on the off side in organization, and as his health suffered, so did his ardor. Both men, to their credit, remained loyal in the end, and kept to the faith. Andrews and Loughborough won through their periods of ill-health, to remain positive factors in the development of the cause; but these other two, who at first marched with them, and who might have developed with them, fell through the ill-health that their spirits could not surmount.

If the health principles that finally became a part of the Seventh-day Adventist doctrine could have been operative from the beginning, without doubt much sorrow and loss would have been avoided. But the average human mind is not able to grasp all truth at once. There was a health movement outside the ranks of Adventists, but it meandered through society with no permanent crystallization or momentum; it lacked the motive power of religion. It took time to combine the two. The little stream of truth represented in the Seventh-day Adventist beginning required a narrow bed to make it effective. Not until its channel should have become well marked out and its converging affluents of doctrine had made a larger stream, could it afford to receive such corollary truths as health, education, and social responsibility. To gather out of a chaotic mass, such as the postdisappointment Adventist people, a compact, harmonious, organized body, united in the Christian faith, re-

quired a singleness of eye and a coordination of hand which could not at first permit so comprehensive a program as later might be realized. Yet without that fuller program it could not attain to its well-rounded, complete, dynamic nature.

There were some eager advocates of reforms in diet. As early as 1850, agitation arose against the use of pork and pork products. A few years more saw an increase both in advocates and in aggressiveness. But it was a doctrine of negation; no healthful substitutes were offered—perhaps none were needed, since other meats were allowed; but the advocates were unscientifically abstemious in other respects, and they were very critical of all who refused their message. In that spirit they obscured the inspiration of the gospel. James White opposed the teaching in 1850, on the ground that it misapplied Scripture, "which will only distract the flock of God, and lead the minds of the brethren from the importance of the present work of God among the remnant."⁶ And in 1858 Mrs. White wrote to certain of these undisciplined scouts who ventured in advance: "God is leading out a people, not a few separate individuals, here and there, one believing this thing, another that. Angels of God are doing the work committed to their trust. . . . Some run ahead of the angels that are leading this people; but they have to retrace every step, and meekly follow no faster than the angels lead."⁷

Disappointing to the would-be reformers, and perhaps to the angels also, the army slowly moved forward in discipline. By the early 1860's there was unanimity in the condemnation of the use of tobacco, and a widespread abandonment also of tea and coffee. Minds were turned increasingly to the relation between right dietetic habits and godliness. It was an entering wedge into which the angel pressed the message of a wider reform.

That message came freighted with tragedy to James and Ellen White. First, in the winter of 1862-63, two of their children were stricken with diphtheria, then epidemic. Elder White chanced to see in a current newspaper a letter from Dr.



PHOTO BY CECIL DAVIS

House of A. Hilliard, Otsego, Michigan, where the vision on the basic health reform message was given to Ellen G. White.

Jackson, giving directions for the treatment of diphtheria: no drugs, but hot baths, cooling packs, liquid foods, plenty of water to drink, ventilation, rest, and care. The Whites followed the directions with success. Then Mrs. White became the neighborhood nurse for other children so stricken, and the drugless treatment grew in prestige.

But the next summer Elder and Mrs. White, having business in Boston, and seeking to double the value of the trip with a little rest and opportunity to write, took their family of three boys and visited their parents and the Howlands in Maine. In that old home of his, Henry, the oldest White boy, was stricken with pneumonia, and in a few days, under the treatment of a local physician, died. The grief-stricken parents returned to Battle Creek, carrying the body of their son for burial. But almost immediately their youngest child, Willie, was attacked with the same disease. Desperately ill, he seemed about to pass away. Sending for a few friends, the anxious parents prayed for help. Then they determined to use again the simple water treatments, rather than employ a drug-dosing physician. These

treatments they assiduously applied for five days. Then, exhausted, the mother lay down to rest. According to popular practice, her room was closed against night air; but, unable to sleep, she at last threw open her door, and immediately felt relief and refreshing sleep. As she slept she dreamed. A physician of a higher order was, in her dream, standing by her child's bed. He promised recovery, and said, "That which gave you relief will also relieve your child. He needs air. You have kept him too warm." They obeyed, and the child recovered. Again Mrs. White was deluged with appeals for help in cases of illness, and her neighborhood ministrations bade fair to swallow all her other work.

Midway between these events she had been granted an epochal vision, which gave the church its marching orders on health. It was in the midst of the Civil War; evangelistic services had well-nigh been stopped. It occurred immediately after the formation of the General Conference, and organization was assured. "It was at the house of Bro. A. Hilliard, at Otsego, Mich., June 6, 1863," wrote Mrs. White, "that the great subject of Health Reform was opened before me in vision."⁸

M. E. Cornell and R. J. Lawrence were holding a tent meeting in Otsego, and a company of Adventists from Battle Creek, thirty miles south, drove up for the Sabbath. Elder and Mrs. White went with them. Worn with care and perplexity, James White was in poor health and much depressed in spirit. At the beginning of the Sabbath the workers and visitors assembled for worship. Let an eyewitness tell of the occasion:

"Sister White was asked to lead in prayer at family worship. She did so in a most wonderful manner. Elder White was kneeling a short distance from her. While praying, she moved over to him, and laying her hand on his shoulder continued praying for him until she was taken off in vision," in which state she remained "about forty-five minutes. It was at this time she was given instruction upon the health question which soon after became such a matter of interest to our people. Those

present at the time this vision was given will never forget the heavenly influence that filled the room. The cloud passed from the mind of Elder White, and he was full of praise to God.”⁹

The program of hygiene and healthful living presented through Mrs. White in this vision was basic, sound, constructive. It did indeed correct errors in diet, and it took an advanced position in this; but it did not merely forbid, it recommended. “I saw that it was a sacred duty to attend to our health, and arouse others to their duty. . . . We have a duty to speak, to come out against intemperance of every kind,—intemperance in working, in eating, in drinking, in drugging, and then point them to God’s great medicine, water, pure soft water, for diseases, for health, for cleanliness, for luxury. . . . We should not be silent upon the subject of health, but should wake up minds to the subject.”¹⁰

A happy, cheerful state of mind, based on trust in the Fatherhood of God, was inculcated as a preventive and cure of worry induced by heavy responsibilities and lack of cooperation from others. “We should encourage a cheerful, hopeful, peaceful frame of mind, for our health depends upon our doing this.” Also the evil of intemperate work was stressed: “When we tax our strength, overlabor, and weary ourselves much, then we take colds, and at such times are in danger of diseases taking a dangerous form.”¹¹ This basic double physiological fact—susceptibility to infections through depletion of vitality, and immunity to initial colds through building up of bodily tone—is a cardinal therapeutic doctrine today, though still ignored and neglected by the majority of people. As a preventive of disease, it surpasses the whole pharmacopeia of the profession in that day and in our own.

Mrs. White began to write on the subject of health and healthful living. In the autumn of 1863 she issued a booklet entitled *An Appeal to Mothers*, those first teachers, advocating the inculcation of the laws of life, especially the sacred mysteries of generation, and the relation thereto of dietary law. In this pamphlet is found her first published statement of the

relation of diet to the spiritual life. Within a few months there were published her third and fourth volumes of *Spiritual Gifts*. In the fourth volume was a long article on health, in which she traced the evil course of perverted appetite from Adam to ourselves. Swine's flesh was specifically condemned, and finally all flesh food, as also inclusion in the diet of rich pastries, grease-filled foods, and condiments. In their place she recommended "a plain, wholesome diet," the essentials of which were ground whole grains, legumes, vegetables, fruits, and nuts, with milk products and eggs gradually, or in the future, to be discarded. Two meals a day instead of three were advocated to relieve the alimentary system during sleep.

Drug medication was condemned. "Drugs never cure disease. . . . Nature alone is the effectual restorer, and how much better could she perform her task if left to herself."¹² Upon her list of health preservers and remedies in disease were cleanliness, sunlight, fresh air, the rational use of water, and power of the will.

In 1864 a more extended treatise was prepared and issued, entitled *Health, or How to Live*. This consisted of six pamphlets, one each on food, baths, drugs, air, clothing, and proper exercise. Each contained, first, an article from Mrs. White, setting forth correct principles and practices, followed by extracts from works of physicians and reformers in scientific agreement. These six pamphlets were later bound into one volume, which received wide circulation. It was an effort to provide for the church in inexpensive form and with the authority of religion, the information which otherwise could or would be afforded by few.

The response to this health message was immediate and strong. Although, of course, there were many, then and even to this day, whose fleshly lusts made them reject a full acceptance of the teaching, on the other hand many, both ministers and laymen, hailed the instruction with joy, and began to put it into practice in their living. A good deal of experimentation went on in new and healthful modes of cookery

1894.

STEAM PRESS
BATTLE CREEK, MICH.
OF THE BATTLE-CREEK AMERICAN ASSOCIATION.

BY ELLIEN G. SWINEY

PHYSICAL, MENTAL, AND MORAL LIFE OF MANY
OF THE CHILDREN OF OUR TIME

OF THE

GREAT CAUSE

THE

Spent to Mothers.

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1894.

BATTLE CREEK, MICH.
STEAM PRESS

AND SONS

HOW TO LIVE

and in the preparation of homemade substitutional foods.¹³ Several of the Battle Creek sisters, especially the wives of Loughborough, Cornell, Smith, and Amadon, prepared recipes from their experience which were included in *How to Live*.

It was at this time that John Andrews first caught the vision of the health reform which did away with his physical illnesses and which wrought a remarkable cure in his crippled son. John Loughborough likewise records a marvelous change in his physical condition as a result of the reform. M. E. Cornell, Isaac Sanborn, D. T. Bourdeau, J. H. Waggoner, and many another leader swung vigorously into line. H. S. Gurney, that early companion of Joseph Bates, wrote: "It has now become evident that such a reform-movement has commenced among S. D. Adventists. And I rejoice that I have the opportunity to unite my influence with such a movement, and adopt a system which appears rational, convenient, and scriptural."¹⁴ Naturally, it was a matter for great rejoicing to Joseph Bates, who for twenty years had stood almost alone in exemplification of the laws of health, some of the time on a rather Spartan diet, which he now liberalized according to the light given. The psychological time had come for Seventh-day Adventists to move forward in the field of health.

How radical a change in diet and in general habits of living this reform wrought in the lives of its adopters may be judged by a scrutiny of Elder Andrews' account. Let them who today shy away from the comparatively simple and easy abnegation of meats and drinks required by our reform regimen, contemplate what a revolution these resolute pioneers experienced. Tobacco, indeed, remains for the new convert a redoubt as hard as ever to conquer; but the general dietetic habits of the American public have so progressed as to come much nearer to the norm. In the beginning, to step over from a greasy, peppery, fleshly diet to the natural, meatless bill of fare; to restrict the number of meals to two; and to accept the coarse whole grain which the farmer thought only fit for his stock were tests of sincerity and devotion equal to the test on the

Sabbath. Nothing less than a religious motive could have empowered the movement. Nevertheless, it was not easy, either to the appetite or to the pride of the believers. And immediately there became apparent that faint or wider divergence in the ranks of reformers which will probably be noticeable until near the end.

In the experience of many of the adherents of this reform the change was made with very severe trial and necessary determination. In no case, perhaps, was this more true than with Mrs. White herself. The instruction received in vision cut directly across her own habits. In following it she received invaluable benefits: her health was greatly improved; her frequent sense of dizziness left her; she went through the spring period for the first time minus a loss of appetite. But the test was severe. She said to an audience in Battle Creek in 1869:

"I have not taken one step back since the light from Heaven upon this subject first shone upon my pathway. I broke away from everything at once,—from meat and butter, and from three meals,—and that while engaged in exhaustive brain labor, writing from early morning till sundown. I came down to two meals a day without changing my labor. I have been a great sufferer from disease, having had five shocks of paralysis. I have been with my left arm bound to my side for months, because the pain in my heart was so great. When making these changes in my diet, I refused to yield to taste, and let that govern me. Shall that stand in the way of my securing greater strength, that I may therewith glorify my Lord? Shall that stand in my way for a moment? Never! I suffered keen hunger. I was a great meat-eater. But when faint, I placed my arms across my stomach, and said, 'I will not taste a morsel. I will eat simple food, or I will not eat at all.' Bread was distasteful to me. I could seldom eat a piece as large as a dollar. Some things in the reform I could get along with very well; but when I came to the bread, I was especially set against it. When I made these changes, I had a special battle to fight. The first two or three meals, I could not eat. I said to my stomach, 'You may wait

until you can eat bread.' In a little while I could eat bread, and graham bread too. This I could not eat before; but now it tastes good, and I have had no loss of appetite. . . .

"I do not regard it a great privation to discontinue the use of those things which leave a bad smell in the breath and a bad taste in the mouth. . . . These I used to have much of the time. I have fainted away with my child in my arms again and again. I have none of this now; and shall I call this a privation, when I can stand before you as I do this day? There is not one woman in a hundred that could endure the amount of labor that I do. I moved out from principle, not from impulse. I moved because I believed Heaven would approve of the course I was taking to bring myself into the very best condition of health, that I might glorify God in my body and spirit, which are His." ¹⁵

This heroic treatment was the only method to which, in their inexperience, those pioneers had recourse. The science of dietetics is a product of a later generation, and at that time no easy ladder of attainment was prepared; they must leap. And they landed! Some of them leaped two feet, so to speak, some of them ten, some of them a hundred. The success of Mrs. White's reform is witnessed by the more than doubling of her life span and the experience of health into which she soon came, making the last half of her life by far the most vigorous and tonic.¹⁶

The health reform principles were fairly attached to the Seventh-day Adventist message in that early time, within the second decade of the movement. It was a message for the benefit not only of the members of that church but for the world; for as it was revealed as a part of the gospel, it belonged to that threefold message which was to redeem men from the power of Satan. Many years later Mrs. White wrote of it: "The medical missionary work is as the right arm to the third angel's message which must be proclaimed to a fallen world. . . . In this work the heavenly angels bear a part. They awaken spiritual joy and melody in the hearts of those who

have been freed from suffering, and thanksgiving to God arises from the lips of many who have received the precious truth."¹⁷

The message and the mission were launched in the year of grace 1863, but there was yet to come a trial and an education before it turned to the strong evangelistic force which has characterized it as indeed the right arm of the ecclesiastical body.

¹ James White, *Life Incidents*, p. 15; Ellen G. and James White, *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene*, p. 262.

² *Review and Herald*, Dec. 4, 1855; March 5, 1857.

³ Ellen G. and James White, *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene*, pp. 262-264.

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ *Review and Herald*, May 14, 1861, p. 206 (her confession).

⁶ *The Present Truth*, November, 1850.

⁷ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 207.

⁸ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 8, 1867.

⁹ Mrs. Martha D. Amadon, quoted in D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, p. 66. See Appendix.

¹⁰ Ellen G. White letter 4, 1863.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 4, p. 134.

¹³ See Appendix.

¹⁴ *Review and Herald*, Nov. 8, 1864.

¹⁵ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 2, pp. 371, 372.

¹⁶ See Appendix.

¹⁷ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 6, p. 229.

MEDICAL MINISTRY

DOWN into the valley of vision must the pilgrims go, to come to the top of the mountain of ministry. "The burden of the valley of vision." "For it is a day of trouble, and of treading down, and of perplexity." "And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my servant . . . and I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand."¹

The close of the Civil War found the leaders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church worn and ill. The perplexities and burdens of the war in its impingement upon the gospel program and the lives of believers, had been a great tax on their vitality. Now that the war was over they looked forward to a period of freedom and progress and rapid advancement, but their hopes were disappointed. A number of them—Byington, Hutchins, Frisbie, Bourdeau, and to quite a degree Andrews and Loughborough—were too ill to do much labor, for the principles of healthful living were not yet thoroughly absorbed, nor bearing all their fruit; and instead of advancing, the cause languished.

James White had borne the heaviest burdens, and on him still rested the chief responsibility. In the spring of 1865 it was decided that Elder and Mrs. White and Elder Loughborough should make a tour of the West; and into Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa they went. At Monroe, Wisconsin, Elder Ingraham, president of the conference, handed White a letter from B. F. Snook, president of the Iowa Conference, a postscript to which indicated the beginning of the separatist movement he with Brinkerhoff began. The Whites and Loughborough entered Iowa to find the spirit of discontent and rebellion rife, though the majority of the believers were faithful.

At Washington, Iowa, in the southeast of the State, they met Capt. Robert M. Kilgore, a Union soldier just released from a Southern war prison, who was to become a mighty worker in the cause. His father had partially accepted the faith and his mother, sisters, and the younger children had wholly accepted it during his absence in the army; and he now, upon study, went all the way and embraced it. For the next several years, before he entered the ministry, he was, like George I. Butler, a lay anchor in Iowa, sustaining his home church, entertaining the visiting ministers, and conducting them on their way.³ Here at Washington the Battle Creek party first learned definitely of the war which Snook and Brinkerhoff were stirring up. It was, in the main, a mass of accusations against James and Ellen White.

At Pilot Grove, on June 29, the Iowa Conference convened. Elders Snook and Brinkerhoff were invited to present their complaints; and a full, free, and careful investigation of the charges was made. As a result, both men gave oral and written confession of their wrong attitude, and reconciliation was effected. A change in administration, however, was necessary; and George I. Butler, local elder of the church at Waukon, was at one and the same time licensed to preach and elected president of the conference. Only a few weeks passed before Snook and Brinkerhoff were again in open rebellion, seeking to carry the churches in Iowa with them. It was a baptism of fire for the young president, which developed him into a man of might.

The Whites returned to Battle Creek, and to a strenuous program in Michigan. Loughborough for two months remained in Iowa, under heavy pressure, his labor equaling, he says, that of any other four months of his ministry. On August 16 he received a telegram to return to Battle Creek immediately, as Elder White had suffered a severe stroke of paralysis. Arrived in Battle Creek, Loughborough found himself in immediate danger of the same fate, unable even to walk without severe head pains. Elder White was heavily stricken, his right side al-

most useless, and his brain affected. For a month home remedies and care were given, but it was then decided to try the treatments at Dr. Jackson's Dansville institution.³

It was a sad company that departed from Battle Creek on September 14: James and Ellen White, John Loughborough, and Uriah Smith, accompanied by Dr. H. S. Lay. There went the president of the General Conference, one of his chief lieutenants, and the editor of the *Review and Herald*—all invalided. Other leaders were also in ill-health. For nearly a year no quorum of either the General Conference Committee or the Michigan Conference committee could be had, because of the illness of a majority.

At the Dansville Home, Dr. Jackson prescribed long rest and treatment. Uriah Smith reports to his paper that, according to the doctor's advice, James White must remain six or eight months, John Loughborough five or six months, but that he, Smith, would escape with a five- or six-week sentence.⁴ A day of fasting and prayer was appointed throughout the field for Elder White and his afflicted brethren.⁵ Among the many expressions of sympathy and love, we note the letter of Joseph Bates, expressing the devoted love of a brother and the benign blessing of a father in the faith. The apostle of health, who experienced no illness and knew no pain,⁶ still laboring earnestly in his seventy-fourth year, reached out a succoring hand to his stricken brother-in-arms. And not with words only, for shortly he followed this with a substantial gift of money from the church in Monterey.⁷

In the absence of the editor, the paper was managed by a young minister, William C. Gage, later prominent in the work; and J. M. Aldrich, who had presided at the opening of the General Conference, was brought on from New York to act also on the editorial staff. But it was only a few weeks until Smith, after a trip into New England, a trip partly of ministerial labor and partly of filial duty, to visit his mother whom he had not seen for ten years, returned strengthened and refreshed to his editorial duties.

Horatio S. Lay, M.D., had practiced medicine in Allegan, Michigan, for some twelve years when he heard and conversed with Mrs. White on the principles of health she had begun to advocate. Deeply impressed, he turned his attention to drugless healing; and when in 1864 his wife became seriously ill, he took her to the Dansville institution, where very soon he was added to its medical staff. This was a heaven-sent opportunity to learn with thoroughness the system of treatment in diet and hydrotherapy, in which the Dansville physicians were pioneers. Dr. Lay was a member of the medical staff while the Whites were there, and made the trip to Battle Creek to accompany his new patients.

Their stay at the Dansville institution was a time of education to the Adventist leaders, but also it was a time when a sharp distinction was made between some of the teachings and practices of that cult and the health movement which was to develop in the new church. The three chief points of divergence were in diet, in recreation, and in dress.

As to diet, they were in nearly complete agreement. The Whites had for a year lived on a simple, meatless diet, and in practice and teaching they were in this almost at one with Dr. Jackson and his fellow teachers. Jackson and Trall, however, carried their campaign against condiments to the extent of condemning salt. Mrs. White, experimenting with a saltless diet, found it detrimental to health, and repudiated it. Certain other dietetic tenets were accounted extreme or premature, and were deprecated by Mrs. White, whose policy was not to overdrive the flock. When later Dr. Trall became connected with their health journal for a short time, his extreme views, especially inapplicable to the frontier West, caused such confusion and disaffection as required the strong but tactful hand of James White in a change of attitude and restoration of confidence.⁸

In the matter of recreation and mental therapy the Dansville physicians prescribed games, card playing, theatergoing, and dancing. Against all this Mrs. White turned a resolute

face. The doctors deprecated the soul-searching experiences of religion, though allowing a mild interest; they prescribed for Elder White an entire neglect of church business and religious thinking, and urged him to "rest." Active as he had always been, mentally and physically, he found this very difficult; and his wife saw that the effort to put all his church interests out of mind was injuring instead of helping him. She felt that moderate exercise of mind and body, as his condition might indicate, would rather be helpful than hurtful. Dr. Jackson disapproved, but agreed that he might go to friends in Rochester, within reach of Dansville, and test out the theory.⁹

They left Dansville, December 7, three months after arrival, and remained at the home of Bradley Lamson, near Rochester, for three weeks. Elder Loughborough went with them, and Elder Andrews joined them. With the church in Rochester, they offered earnest prayer for Elder White's recovery. Though at first it was difficult for him to rise above his infirmities, he did gain steadily, until, on the first day of January, 1866, he felt strong enough to return to Battle Creek. The friends there remarked that, though he had lost fifty pounds, he seemed better than when he left—a very qualified statement of improvement.¹⁰ The fact is that though he had fairly recovered the use of his muscles, and his mental faculties were improved, so that he preached and attended to some business, he was far from a full recovery. Indeed, the physicians from the first had declared, not to him but to all others concerned, that he could never fully recover or be able to do such work as he had done before.

Here opens a chapter of more than wifely devotion, a story of such insight, such perception of therapeutic values, such determined will, such expenditure of physical, mental, and spiritual strength for the recovery of her husband's powers, while carrying the heaviest burdens of the church, as has perhaps no parallel. Friends, the most time-honored and solicitous, the leaders in the church, and the parents of her husband themselves, begged her to leave him, an invalid, in the hands of



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Original Articles.

DIGESTION.

BY J. B. HURLEY, M. D.

Digestion is that process by which food is reduced to a form in which it can be absorbed and taken up into the blood. This is the way that food builds up the waste constantly going on in the body. This process is accomplished, 1st. By the teeth. 2nd. By the saliva. 3d. By the mucous membrane. 4th. By the gastric juice. 5th. By the bile; and 6th. By the pancreatic juice.

As the food consists of a mixture of various kinds, having different physical and chemical properties, so also these peculiar fluids differ in kind, quality, and chemical action, from each other.

As the food passes through the intestines from above downward, those parts of it which become reduced to a liquid state, are successively removed by absorption, and taken up into the blood; while the remaining portion, which is indigestible, together with the intestinal secretions, requires a firmer consistency owing to the absorption of the fluids, and is finally discharged as detritus material, by the vermicular action of the intestine.

In the lower order of animals, the digestive apparatus is more complex than in man. The food has three stomachs,

while some of higher order have four; while man, the head of the animal creation, has but two. There is, however, a great similarity between the animal digestive system and that of man. In the human species, although the digestive apparatus is simpler than in animals, still it is quite complicated. The alimentary canal is divided into different cavities which communicate with each other by narrow openings.

At its commencement, we find the cavity of the mouth guarded at its posterior extremity, by a muscular valve of the isthmus of the fauces. Through the oesophagus it communicates with the stomach, which is guarded at either extremity by circular folds of muscular fibres, called respectively, the cardiac and pyloric orifices; then come the small intestines under different forms and names, owing to their respective structures. Thus we have the duodenum, jejunum and ileum.

In the duodenum, we have the biliary and pancreatic ducts, and lastly the small intestines together with the large ones, separated from the smaller by the ileocolon valve, which is liable to become closed up by indigestible substances lodging in it, causing death. Next are the larger intestines, which are named respectively the ascending, transverse, and descending colon, at the latter end of which is a strong muscular band called the sphincter, and which becomes relaxed to an intense degree in pain (hemorrhoids).

Having thus given a brief description of the digestive organs, in order to better understand their uses, let us glance at some very interesting portions of digestion. When food is introduced into the stomach it is subjected to a process called gastric digestion. The food is broken

others, while she gave attention to her public mission and her children. She would not do it. She abated little of her mission to the church; she gave attention to her home and her children; she continued to write and to testify; but she declared that God had set her husband as the leader of the church, and she could not abandon him. "As long as life is spared to us both, I shall put forth every effort in my power to save him. That masterly mind must not be left to ruin. God will care for me and for my children, and He will raise up my husband, and you will yet see us standing side by side in the sacred desk, speaking the words of truth unto eternal life."¹¹ Her faith and works were to be honored by fourteen more years of association with her husband in labors which bore fruit in some of the most important and far-reaching of the church's enterprises.

It seems almost incredible that, despite Elder White's feebleness, he was in May, 1866, again elected president of the General Conference. It was a mark of confidence, of dependence also, for there was no other whose grasp of the work equaled his; and yet there were many to criticize his weakness and consequent occasional irascibility. Curiously, his first acceptance of the presidency was to result, during his two-year occupancy, in comparative inactivity as at no other period in his life. Later, he twice carried the responsibility with full power.

Mrs. White decidedly differed with the physicians as to the benefits to be derived by her husband from inactivity. Against her own convictions, she endeavored for a time, after returning to Battle Creek, to carry out the doctor's orders, but the results more than ever convinced her of its error. She believed that the patient's utmost effort must supplement the blessing of God. She sought to inspire courage and to arouse action in her husband; and as spring came on, she induced him to travel with her by carriage to visit Elder Bates and other friends in Monterey. When this proved beneficial, many more short journeys were made during the summer.

Upper: Three early Adventist physicians: Dr. Kate Lindsay, Dr. Phoebe Lamson, and Dr. H. S. Lay. Lower: Cover page of *The Health Reformer*, forerunner of the current denominational journal, *Life and Health*.

But with the return of winter Elder White's health declined again, as he was more closely confined indoors. His wife proposed that they make another trip, but the friends in Battle Creek rose up against the proposal. What! In the depths of winter take a sick man out on a cross-country journey? It was certain death! That was not a day of heated motorcars and smooth pavements: winter vehicles were not enclosed; and Michigan's thoroughfares, especially in the north, were still often corduroy. But nothing daunted her. Against protests and almost orders she bundled him up, and in an open sleigh in a fierce snowstorm they set out, with Brother Rogers driving, for Wright, ninety miles away, and the hospitable home of E. H. Root, where after two days they arrived safe and well. But the grieved or angry eyes that rebelliously watched them start, certain that this obsessed woman was carrying out the execution of her husband, were not easily turned to a recognition of their own mistake.

The burdens that woman bore that winter will never be known until the books of heaven are opened. She was nurse to her husband, watching his diet, giving him treatments, taking him out to ride and to walk, leading him into exercise and ministry, cheering and upholding him while many sorrows weighed upon her. Her children she had had to leave in other hands. The sympathies of friends had been, in large part, alienated by her independent action. She heard criticism and unfounded charges from Battle Creek, which she must keep to herself. The people about them in mid-State (then called Northern Michigan) were eager to hear her; and she spoke to large gatherings in many towns and communities, on temperance and health and Christian living. In these expeditions she took her husband with her, and sometimes he briefly addressed the people. Besides all this she had many testimonies, received in vision, to write out for men who were not always willing to accept them. She was advocating new and testing truths, in health, in education, in evangelism. On her, in fact, rested the guidance of the whole cause, and her pen was busy in every

hour she could steal from the society of her husband. It would seem that her hands should be loyally upheld by the church; but Battle Creek was wounded in its self-esteem, and some of the leading spirits were guilty of unjust and untrue charges which went swirling over the field. She had, indeed, more than the experience of Moses in Hazeroth and the wilderness of Paran. It was an ordeal familiar to the apostles of the church, as witness Paul's experience with Corinth.

When the trial was over, a year later, the church in Battle Creek acknowledged their fault, and published a confession prepared by a committee consisting of J. N. Andrews, J. N. Loughborough, Joseph Bates, D. T. Bourdeau, A. S. Hutchins, and John Byington. Some at least of this committee, as well as their lay brethren, were involved in the faultfinding. Probably Joseph Bates was not one of them, as his residence was not in Battle Creek but in Monterey, and the attitude was distinctly foreign to his just, kind, and self-disciplined nature; he associated himself with his brethren as did Daniel in his confession, and lent the weight of his name to the document. Loughborough, however, that faithful but lively co-laborer, confessed his part, and with the others said: "We acknowledge that this feeling was unfounded and cruel, though it was caused by misapprehension of the facts in the case." And, "Let our brethren abroad understand that our hearts are in sympathy with Bro. and Sister White, and that we believe them called of God to the responsible work in which they are engaged, and that we pledge ourselves to stand by them in this work."¹²

The testimonies from Mrs. White were not all on one side. James White also at times received counsels, cautions, and reproof indited by the Holy Spirit. In her vision on Christmas Day at Rochester, 1865, one of the subjects was her husband, and she faithfully gave him the message: "The servant of the Lord, my husband, Eld. James White. I was shown that God had accepted his humiliation, and the afflicting of his soul before Him, and his confessions of his lack of consecration to

God and his repentance for the errors and mistakes in his course which have caused him such sorrow and despondency of mind during his protracted illness. I was shown that his greatest wrong in the past has been an unforgiving spirit toward those brethren who have injured his influence in the cause of God, and brought upon him extreme suffering of mind by their wrong course. He was not as pitiful and compassionate as our heavenly Father has been toward His erring, sinning, repenting children. . . . He could and did forgive them, and fellowship them as brethren. But although the wrong was healed in the sight of God, yet he sometimes in his own mind probed that wound, and by referring to the past he suffered it to fester. . . . He has not always realized the pity and love that should be exercised toward those who have been so unfortunate as to fall under the temptations of Satan. They were the real sufferers, the losers, not he, as long as he was steadfast, possessing the Spirit of Christ.”¹³

Nor was Mrs. White reluctant to confess her own faults when confession was due. She did not hold herself to be perfect. Sometimes, under the stress of burdens and slanders, her patience failed; and such lapses she confessed with tears and sorrow. But surely as we look upon her labors of love, expressed in words and deeds, and upon her multiplied responsibilities, her physical weakness still apparent in many collapses from which she was often miraculously recovered by the power of God, and her noble bearing of misrepresentations and slanders of enemies and false friends, we are fain to accord her the encomium pronounced upon the man Moses, who “was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth,” and of whom God said, He “is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches.”¹⁴

Meanwhile, the fatal philosophy of inactivity which the physicians at Dansville had instilled into James White's mind, created a fear that hobbled every exertion. Only gradually did his wife's faith become his own. He wrote an article or a re-

port for nearly every issue of the *Review*, more optimistic than the circumstances warranted, but this alone was exhausting labor to him. Thus passed the winter of 1866-67. Mrs. White determined that a return to the land was necessary. She persuaded her husband; they put their home in Battle Creek up for sale, and bought a small farm near Greenville, Michigan. It had no buildings, but they contracted for a small house to be erected before they should move. In May they drove up from Battle Creek, and took possession. Here she endeavored to interest him in the improvement of their place, in gardening, and in the cultivation of small fruits. With her own hands she planted, hoed, and pruned, and he evinced increasing interest and helped her. They took their sons to the farm with them. The older, Edson, eighteen, was an apprentice in printing, and was only occasionally with them. Willie, twelve, was their constant helper.

When haying time came, their grass was cut with a mower, and James White decided to ask the help of his neighbors in getting it in. But Mrs. White, intent on healing as the main object of this husbandry, visited them with a conspiracy, to which they reluctantly consented; so when he sent for them, they all said they were too busy to help him. He was greatly disappointed, but his wife said, "Let us get it in ourselves. Willie and I will rake the hay and pitch it on the wagon, while you load it and drive the team."

This they did. But how could they make the stack?—for they had no barr. "I'll build the stack," said the indomitable woman, "while you pitch up the hay and Willie rakes." Many a passer-by, accustomed to listening to Mrs. White on the lecture platform and in the church, gazed curiously at the same woman pitching and tramping the hay. But in the end they surveyed with pride the stack that Ellen built. Greatest of all her pleasure, however, was the improvement in her husband's spirit and strength. His natural love of physical activity was aroused, and soon his wife's concern was turned to see that he should not overdo. They kept their farm for four years,



when their increasing public labors, with James White's returning health, led them to sell it and again locate in Battle Creek.

But all this, vital as it was, was incidental to the work that they were building. In this, humanly speaking, Mrs. White was the architect; James White lent his occasional hand as he was able; and other men built with them, some with vision, some without.

When the Whites and Loughborough left the Dansville Home, and went to Rochester toward the end of 1865, in the midst of their earnest, continuing prayer season Mrs. White was given an important vision on December 25. It dealt with a number of matters, but most voluminously and prominently with the health reform. The first instruction on this reform, in diet, in drugless healing, and in hygienic living, had been taught for three years, particularly through the pamphlet *How to Live*. But many were halfhearted about it, and the testimony called them to be alert. "Ministers and people must make greater advancement in the work of reform. They should commence without delay to correct their wrong habits of eating, drinking, dressing, and working." "The work of health reform has scarcely been entered upon yet. While some feel deeply, and act out their faith in the work, others remain indifferent and have scarcely taken the first step in reform. There seems to be in them a heart of unbelief."¹⁵

To reform their own lives was but the preliminary preparation for ministry of health to others. The gospel of health was to be taken to the world. Mrs. White commended the work of Dr. Jackson and his associates, but made clear that the work of Seventh-day Adventists was to be molded by the religion of Jesus Christ, and was to correct some errors in the teaching and practice of Dansville. Her experience at that institution had shown the necessity of a Spirit-inspired message and mission. To this end, Seventh-day Adventists must have a health institution of their own. "I was shown that we should provide a home for the afflicted, and those who wish to learn

The Western Health Reform Institute at Battle Creek, Michigan, which later, on the same grounds, developed into the world-renowned Battle Creek Sanitarium.

how to take care of their bodies that they may prevent sickness. We should not remain indifferent.”¹⁸

How great a task was this incorporation of a health message and mission in a religious movement! Few today can realize the difficulties which beset the effort, nor how fundamentally it differed from the health movement in the world. The physicians and physicists of that movement were wrapped up in the scientific aspects of their cause, and, with only a tolerant eye for religion, felt that its inclusion might hinder rather than help. This attitude had its influence on the few medically trained men in the church. On the other hand, the ministers and leading men among Seventh-day Adventists were not scientifically educated on matters of health, and it was difficult to get them to take and maintain positions of reform and crusade. The issue, indeed, was that age-long debate of whether science and religion should be divorced and go their separate ways, or be united and work in harmony, each reinforcing the other. On the one hand lay that chasm which today yawns in the world between science and religion; on the other hand lay that power of the church which comes from recognizing God in both.

At the General Conference of May, 1866, Mrs. White gave a stirring address on health reform. The General Conference responded vigorously. Ministers pledged themselves, not only to adopt correct habits of life, but to carry on the work of education in health as a part of their ministry. Furthermore, the conference adopted resolutions to begin publication of a health journal and to establish a health reform institution.

They called Dr. H. S. Lay to head each of these enterprises. Dr. Lay came fresh from his apprenticeship in the Dansville institution. An earnest, simple, modest man, he gave the best that was in him to this double enterprise of public teaching and practical demonstration of the health principles. It was a work of immense labor and of great importance, the beginning of a health mission which was to be made an integral part of a spiritual movement. He needed

and he received the counsels and instruction of the Spirit of prophecy in Mrs. White. Sometimes there had to be corrections. Always there was held up the distinct religious and spiritual character of this healing and educational work, which was so easily spotted with ideas of the world. Some of the beliefs and the practices to which Dr. Lay had been introduced were out of harmony with our faith; yet their influence was not always apparent except to the watchman, who must cry the alarm. And so has it ever been in the history since. The straight testimony of the Spirit of prophecy is needed as much today as then, to keep the course right.

The new journal was called *The Health Reformer*, its first issue in August, 1866. It lived long, later having its name changed to *Good Health*. It has been succeeded by other health journals, of which the most prominent in America is *Life and Health*, published by the denomination in Washington, D.C. As an educational force in the field of health, all these journals have had a wide and powerful influence.

The project of the health institution seemed a large undertaking for so small a people. It was proposed in the spring of 1866. James White, though re-elected to the presidency of the General Conference, was in such ill-health as to be incapable of taking up any new enterprise. John N. Loughborough, then president of the Michigan Conference, stepped into the breach. With the conference committee and a few of the leading brethren in Battle Creek he prayed and counseled; and they finally said, "We will pledge to the enterprise, venturing out on what is said in the testimony, though it looks to us like a heavy load for us to hold up."¹⁷

Preparing a subscription paper, Loughborough carried it first to J. P. Kellogg. Taking the paper, Kellogg wrote his name in bold hand at the head, like a John Hancock, and put down the figure \$500. "That's what I think of it," he said; and (with a fine mixture of figures), "That five hundred dollars is a seed to start the institution, sink or swim." Thus he had the honor of heading the list of founders of the institu-



tion which his son, under the blessing of God, was to advance to so influential a position among the instrumentalities of health. The church in Battle Creek raised \$1,825, and J. N. Andrews brought the church in Olcott, New York, to pledge \$800 more. Thus, with \$2,625, the enterprise was launched.

A site was found in the northwest outskirts of the city of Battle Creek, facing on Washington Street. It was the estate of Judge Benjamin F. Graves, consisting of an eight-room dwelling house¹⁸ and five acres of land, situated on high ground in a grove of trees, with a pleasant outlook over city and countryside. A two-story addition was built, containing the hydrotherapy department, and a cottage with two additional acres was soon added. The institution was named the Western Health Reform Institute. It had a medical staff of two—Dr. H. S. Lay and Dr. John F. Byington, son of Elder John Byington; and in the spring a lady physician, Dr. Phoebe Lamson,¹⁹ was added. Early additions were Dr. J. H. Ginley and, for a short time, Dr. M. G. Kellogg, the latter an older half-brother of Dr. J. H. Kellogg, then a barefoot boy on the streets of Battle Creek.

There was then no law in Michigan providing for the incorporation of such an institution. The Battle Creek sponsors applied to the legislature for a statute, which was framed and passed in the spring of 1867; meanwhile the institution was held by trustees. In May it was incorporated as a stock company, and on this basis \$11,000 was subscribed. The Health Institute opened its doors on September 5, 1866, with "two doctors, two bath attendants, one nurse (untrained), three or four helpers, one patient, any amount of inconveniences, and a great deal of faith in the future of the Institution and the principles on which it was founded."²⁰

But despite the inconveniences and the limited equipment, the institute so appealed to the public that the number of patients multiplied to scores, more than the capacity would hold, overflowing into neighbors' homes, until, four months after its inauguration, the medical superintendent and its other

friends felt that a new building project was absolutely necessary, which they estimated to cost \$25,000. Great enthusiasm was aroused, not only in Battle Creek, but throughout the field, by this early success; and writers in the *Review and Herald*, including its editor, began to promote the enterprise vigorously; and as it was still a stockholding, dividend-paying company, they emphasized the profitable investment that shares would be. Wrote Andrews: "We do not ask you to give one cent, but we invite you to invest your money in an institution where it may be the means of great good to others, while at the same time it shall yield a fair return of income to yourselves. . . . If, therefore, any of you fear speculation, you will see that the proceeds of it come into your pockets, and not out of them."²¹ However, he was careful to explain that the motive should be doing good and not getting good.

Plans were drawn; basic building material was bought and delivered; and the foundation of the new building was begun, while appeals for money grew ever more fervent, with a fair but not overwhelming response from those whose philanthropy was considerably reinforced by the prospect of personal gain.

But the institution, in God's sight, was not ready for this expansion. The staff was inadequate and insufficiently trained for a large initial influx of patients. More than this, the spirit of the world was edging in; the spiritual was being crowded out by the material. No more "Brother" and "Sister"; these sounded too religious; it was "Mr." and "Mrs.," and wherever possible, "Doctor." And "Mr." and "Mrs." from the morning worship hour rushed to the lawn games and the parlor games and the entertainments; while the more languid were encouraged to lie still and "rest." It was becoming a little Dansville.

Against all this Mrs. White had warned at the beginning. Now from the retreat of their farm at Greenville, she sent again warning and correcting messages. "Should those connected with this enterprise cease to look at their work from a high religious standpoint, and descend from the exalted principles of present truth to imitate in theory and practice those

at the head of institutions where the sick are treated only for the recovery of health, the special blessing of God would not rest upon our institution more than upon those where corrupt theories are taught and practiced. . . . It should ever be kept prominent that the great object to be attained through this channel is not only health, but perfection and the spirit of holiness, which cannot be attained with diseased bodies and minds. This object cannot be secured by working merely from the worldling's stand-point."²²

The Christian principles of healing, indeed, were at this point exemplified more exactly on the little farm at Greenville than in the swelling work at Battle Creek. The seeking of God, His knowledge, and His blessing; the careful weighing of resources; the application of therapeutic measures, especially in active exercise of brain and muscle in useful occupation; and the objective of consecrating all powers to the service of God—the practice of all these principles challenged the right of anyone in Battle Creek at that time to indulge in baseless criticism of Elder and Mrs. White.

One point on which Mrs. White insisted—the employment of patients in labor, suited to their state, on the “ample grounds, beautified with flowers, and planted with vegetables and fruits,” where “the feeble could find work appropriate to their sex and condition, at suitable hours,” “under the care of an experienced gardener, to direct all in a tasteful, orderly manner”²³ (a preview of the modern occupational therapy)—went largely unheeded at that time but, where it has been introduced in some of the great Seventh-day Adventist sanitariums throughout the world its benefits in physical recovery and spiritual blessing have proved the wisdom of the counsel given.

At the meeting in the spring of 1867 J. N. Andrews was elected president of the General Conference, a responsibility which he continued to carry for two years. During this summer James White, on the farm, gained decidedly in health, and in September he and Mrs. White first returned to Battle Creek, then ventured out into the field in evangelistic and



administrative efforts. It was Mrs. White's turn to feel the heavy hand of ill-health, as the exertions and tension of her wifely care were lifted a little; yet by the special blessing of God she won through, in the midst of still arduous toils.

The state of the Health Institute was an especially trying matter. No one connected with it had any large experience in finance, and the boom caused by its early popularity, especially when inflated with the spirit of materialism connected with it, was a bubble which Elder and Mrs. White felt might burst at any point. They therefore counseled retrenchment, and their counsel prevailed. This was a sore disappointment to the promoters; but had not this action been taken, the outcome would doubtless have been disastrous not only to its immediate interests but to the cause of health ministry in the denomination. The plans for the new building were halted, and the materials sold. Yet this left the institution several thousand dollars in debt; and for a time the enthusiasm lagged, and the enterprise seemed doubtful. In the spring of 1868, however, Elder White's health being fairly restored, he was elected to the board of directors, and his masterly hand soon showed itself in a new and healthy interest which sent the work forward.

Mrs. White urged that the organization of the institute be changed from a stockholding, dividend-paying corporation to that of a philanthropic institution, all the profits from its service to be used for charity cases or in developing its resources and equipment. At the General Conference of 1868 the entire body voted in favor of this; and the adjustment was soon made, those of liberal mind and means donating their stock, and those in necessitous circumstances being paid off. The better state of mind with which the supporters viewed the work put a new stamp on it, and under the blessing of God it moved forward. The institute family experienced a new baptism of reformation and consecration, and the atmosphere of the institution, now watched closely by Elder and Mrs. White, came into the state for which it was intended.

A group of early physicians at Battle Creek. Back row, left to right: Doctors George, Braucht, Caro, Paulson, Herr, Kellogg, Moran, Olsen, and Burleigh. Seated, left to right: Doctors Rand, Winegar, Lauretta Kress, Neall, Daniel Kress.

About this time Dr. Lay resigned. His second, Dr. J. H. Ginley, assumed the medical headship for a period. The physicians of the institute, however, were mostly the product of Dr. Trall's Hygieo-Therapeutic College, or similar short-course institutions, not recognized by the standard medical schools. In the loosely organized medical fraternity of the time they were accorded the degree of M.D., but the allopaths and the homeopaths were allergic to them. The success of the institution inclined some of its supporters to press still for physical expansion, but James White, with a vision of broader influence and greater stability, determined that it should be staffed with the most scientifically trained physicians before it should expand. Yet there was the problem of how to get a product of the highest medical schools without getting a drug-dosing, reform-opposing physician.

White scanned the thin ranks of his young men, and he finally decided that among the youth of Battle Creek he had his man in John Harvey Kellogg, then in his late teens, a son of the stanch pioneer who had put his proportional \$300 into beginning the publishing house and the initial \$500 into the Health Institute. John Kellogg had come up under the influence of the reform movement; he believed fervently in its principles; he was bright, active, enthusiastic, determined. And Elder White believed he was so well grounded in the reform faith that he would be capable of resisting the evil and selecting the good in the medical teaching of the day. How well founded was his judgment was proved in the later career of this man, who, coming to stand high among the foremost men of his profession, yet held ever aloft the principles of rational hygiene and healing, and lifted the institution of which he became the head to the top place in the world's healing agencies. Whatever his late and regrettable lapse in religious faith, he carried to the day of his death in his ninety-third year, the banner of health reform which he first learned from the teachings of Mrs. White, whose maternal love and care for him were strong and true to the end of her days.

With two companions young Kellogg went to Dr. Trall's Hygieo-Therapeutic College, and after completing that short course, went on alone to the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, the foremost in America. Here he completed the three-year course, for which James White loaned him a thousand dollars. In 1875 he returned to Battle Creek, and the next year was elected medical superintendent of the Health Institute. He was joined in 1876 by Dr. Kate Lindsay, also trained in the best schools, who at once became distinguished for her learning and skill as well as for her Scotch eccentricities. She became the founder of the first nurses' training school among Seventh-day Adventists, and one of the first in the country. For nearly fifty years Dr. Kate Lindsay remained a beacon light in the medical and nursing profession.²⁴

The skillful hand of Dr. Kellogg was quickly evident in the reorganization of the institution, in the issuing of health literature, and in the education of young people in the medical and nursing professions. The chief medical colleges then allowed the first year of the course to be taken privately under the tutelage of a regular physician, an arrangement which happily permitted the grounding of our candidates in the principles of health reform. This work Dr. Kellogg undertook with a number of young men, a course which was to eventuate in the 1890's in the establishment of the first medical school among us, the American Medical Missionary College. Physicians early associated with Dr. Kellogg, besides Dr. Lindsay, included Dr. Fairfield, Dr. O. G. Place, Dr. W. H. Riley, Dr. H. M. Dunlap, and Dr. Anna H. Stewart. The standing of the Battle Creek Health Institute steadily rose in the medical world, and the Michigan State Medical Association, being guests of the institution in 1877, pronounced it "entirely *rational* and 'regular,'" and gave it their complete endorsement.

Moreover, its spiritual influence was strong, owing to the sincere religious leadership of its physicians and the ministrations of its earliest chaplains, Elders George C. Tenney and Lycurgus McCoy. No surgical operation was ever undertaken

without initial prayer for God's superintendence, a practice which has remained a distinguishing feature of Seventh-day Adventist surgery. The nurses and helpers were instructed in religion as well as in hygiene and therapeutic measures, and their spiritual guidance was careful and constant. The spirit of consecration, kindness, and devotion thus inculcated was a vital contributing cause of the tender, loving care which patients then and since have perceived as a unique feature of our sanitariums.

The improved state of the institution, including its spiritual and missionary character, as well as its scientific standing, removed all the Whites' objection to its enlargement, which, with its increasing popularity, became a necessity. In 1877, therefore, Dr. Kellogg was encouraged in his plans for the new building, a brick structure, four stories in height, 130 feet long, with a hydrotherapy department extension in the rear making a depth of 137 feet, the estimated cost being \$50,000. It was at the same time rechristened the Battle Creek Medical and Surgical Sanitarium. Four years later an addition on the south side was made, more than doubling its capacity; and in 1888 another five-story building, designated as the hospital, was erected across the road on the northeast corner of Washington and Barbour streets.

Thus was established this world-famous institution, the mother of a hundred like institutions, large and small, in the denomination today, besides many more loyal private treatment rooms, and numberless ministrations in homes and institutions. It fairly fulfilled the hopes of its sponsors, "destined to wield a mighty influence in the world, and to be a powerful means of breaking down the old, pernicious autocracy of empirical medical practice, and of encouraging sanitary reform."²⁵

¹ Isaiah 22:1, 5, 20, 21.

² See Appendix.

³ J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists*, pp. 267-270.

- ⁴ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 3, 1865, p. 140.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- ⁶ See Appendix.
- ⁷ *Review and Herald*, Nov. 21, 1865, p. 200.
- ⁸ D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, pp. 167-170.
- ⁹ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 553-568, 612-620.
- ¹⁰ *Review and Herald*, Jan. 9, 1866, p. 48.
- ¹¹ James White, *Life Sketches*, p. 355.
- ¹² Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 611, 612.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 613, 614.
- ¹⁴ Numbers 12:3, 7, 8.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 466, 485, 486.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 489.
- ¹⁷ Loughborough in *Pacific Union Recorder*, Jan. 2, 1913.
- ¹⁸ See Appendix.
- ¹⁹ Dr. Phoebe was a daughter of that Bradley Lamson, living near Rochester, to whose home the Whites retreated from Dansville.
- ²⁰ *Medical Missionary*, January, 1894. The writer of this reminiscent account rather dramatized the "one patient," which must have held true for about the first five minutes; Dr. Byington says that at its opening enough patients had come "to make a fair commencement."—*Review and Herald*, Jan. 1, 1867.
- ²¹ *Review and Herald*, Feb. 19, 1867.
- ²² Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 554.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 562. See Appendix.
- ²⁴ See Appendix.
- ²⁵ *The Health Reformer*, September, 1877.

WEARING APPAREL AND MORAL ISSUES

THE human body was the physical crown of God's creation, most marvelous in organ and function, most beautiful in form and feature, most intelligent and charming in expression: "In the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." In their Edenic state man and woman were clothed in garments of light, emanations from their innocence and virtue. In the final state of redemption that virtue will again clothe them, symbolized in John's vision as "fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints."¹

But now the virtue and righteousness are gone from the mass of the race. Little does the person of man or woman reflect the grace of the Creator. Crooked and distorted, dwarfed and ill-proportioned, burnt or bleached, hirsute or bald, man's body reflects his evil estate, and his face mirrors his passions and those of his fathers of a thousand generations. The man and the woman whom we think most beautiful would be but ill-favored imps in the presence of angels glowing with light and beauty, from which mortals fain would hide their eyes and cover their bodies.

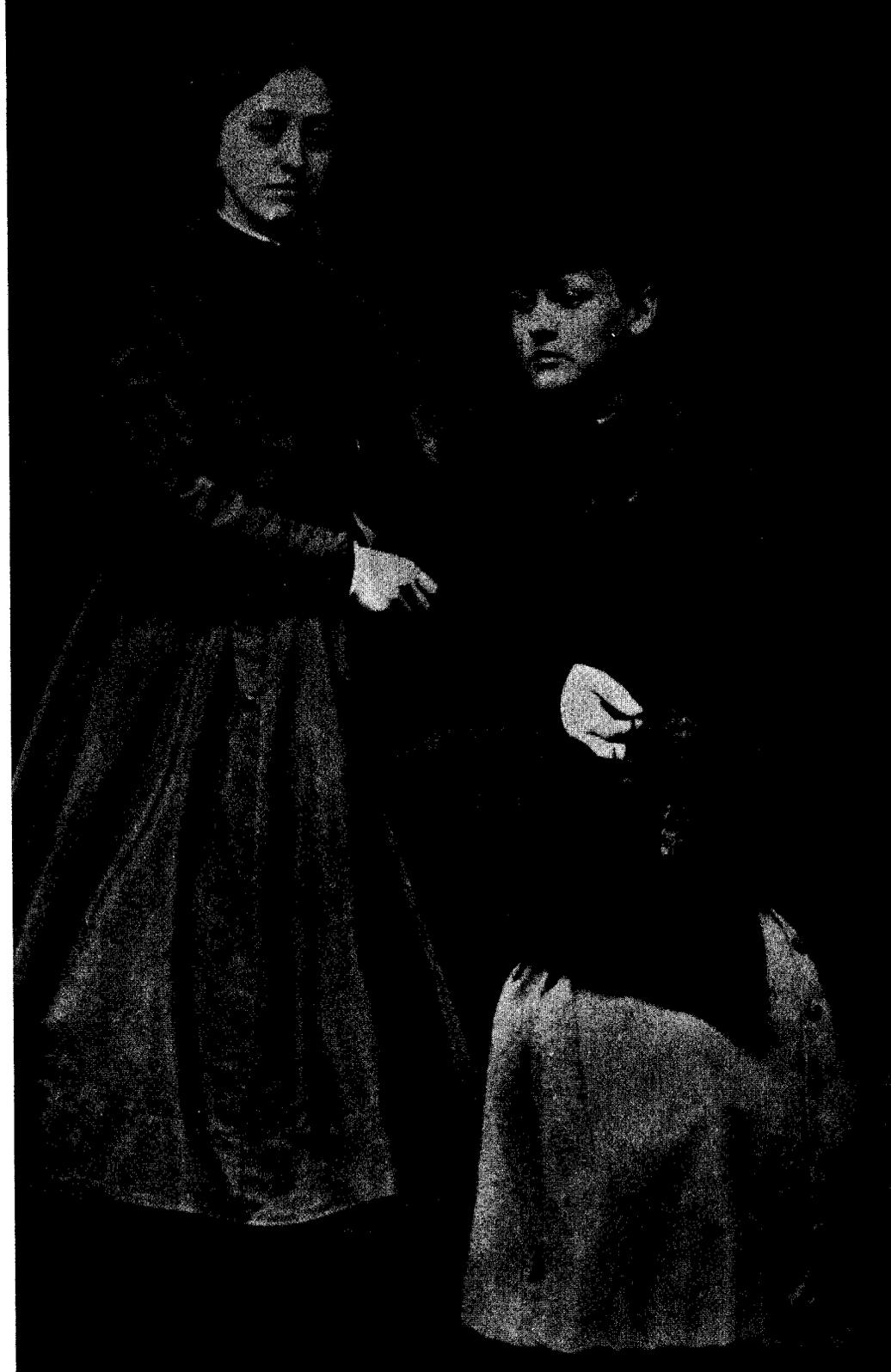
The fashion began as the culprits were thrust out of the Garden. Innocence gone, the light faded, and Adam and Eve, shivering and cringing in the nakedness of sin, sewed together fig leaves to cover themselves. These proving insufficient, they celebrated death by taking at the hand of God skins of slain creatures, for coats. The glory of the children of God exchanged for the furs of insensate beasts! And as the peace and purity of the race retrograded rapidly, men and women more and more sought to hide their loss with inventions of fabrics and fashions, with glittering gold and jewels of the mine. The further from grace they fell, the more they decorated them-

selves, replacing the beautiful simplicity of their innocence with the gaudy colors and erratic workmanship of their inventions. "This only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions."² That which was the symbol of man's shame he made the medium of his pride. The less elevated his thoughts and the less pure his purpose, the heavier his wardrobe and the richer his jewels.

Aside from the necessity of covering on account of climate or occupation, the race has made clothing and ornament the expression of two ungoverned passions: pride and sex. The desire for approval, for acceptance by one's kind, is a natural and laudable urge, an insurance against lawlessness. The hungers and impulses of physical love are set in human nature by God, to act their due part in generation and in ministry. But sin has distorted and misdirected all the functions and impulses of our nature; and unless corrected and guided by the divine Spirit, they lead into transgression and disaster.

Self-respect was turned into vanity, desire for approbation became craving for applause. Wealth and rank were marked by more costly raiment and fortunes in gold and silver and jewels, distinctions which still obtain. The person is loaded with showy apparel and ornaments, and diseased minds are revealed by the most absurd and inconvenient fashions.

Most opprobrious are the displays and manipulations of dress to exploit the erotic passions. God's social plan made the race bisexual for the interplay and fruition of love, that divine endowment which identifies us as the offspring of God, inheriting in this limited degree the power of creation. All the happiest and holiest experiences of life are involved in its functioning; all the relations of society are its creation: father, mother, child, friend, lover, husband, wife, family, home. Were it possible to obliterate it what would be left? But sin has laid hold of God's highest gift and made it the minister of lust. And the race has taken dress, the badge of its disgrace, the necessary substitute for its lost glory, to flaunt its perversion of the gift of life and procreation. By the arts of exposure, half



concealment, accentuation, and exaggeration, the sacred functions of marriage are thrust into the sordid mart of concupiscence.

Equally balanced between vanity and lure, dress has become a gage of battle between the forces of license and the forces of virtue. Illy understood as the issue commonly is—made on the one hand a symbol of liberty and on the other a badge of immorality—dress, rightly apprehended, has nevertheless a place on the agenda of practical Christianity. The outward evidence of an inward state, it can be successfully handled only through a process of moral regeneration; yet its more flagrant manifestations must be dealt with by law.

Man's dress and woman's dress have almost always been distinctive. Sometimes the accepted fashions in each showed but little difference; sometimes they differed widely. Narrow minds are accustomed to take the fashions of their time and country as the norm, and to assume that any departure therefrom is improper and immoral. It is difficult for some to dissociate style and morals. Wider acquaintance with other societies and other times would broaden their concept, if they were at all teachable. But an innate sense of fitness and a due regard for the influence of fashions will preserve a clear distinction between the dress of the sexes.

In Moses' time the dress of men and the dress of women were more nearly alike than in our time and land; yet there was a clear enough distinction to warrant the law: "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God."³ No arbitrary pronouncement, this law struck at the practice of transvestism, the interchange of dress of the sexes for the purpose of cross-sexual impersonation, involving homosexuality. This was a manifestation of the licentiousness and perversion of nature-worship religions, particularly the sun-and-moon worship of Baal and Astarte (Ashtoreth), whose priests were eunuchs in women's attire and whose priestesses gave themselves to temple

Much instruction was given in the matter of women's apparel. Here is shown the health reform costume compared with the conventional "sweeper" skirts of the day.

harlotry, while some of its festivals included promiscuity among its worshipers. The Mosaic law did not prescribe the dress of either man or woman, but accepted the prevailing fashions, with their distinction between the sexes as the criteria.

In Paul's time the Roman and Asiatic world was a mass of moral corruption. The ancient Roman virtue had disintegrated under the ravishment of the East's luxury, and the emperors led in the procession of debauchery. The Christian church was surrounded by sensuality and vice, mirrored and expressed in the dress and undress of the voluptuaries. The church's members were called upon to stand forth in the purity and simplicity of Christ. Appropriate dress was not the great issue, but it was connected with the gospel, an expression of the inward state. Paul wrote: "I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting. In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but (which becometh women /professing godliness) with good works."⁴ And Peter said, "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price."⁵

This is the standard of Christian dress, in every age and every clime. It requires for its exhibition "a meek and quiet spirit," an impelling urge to "good works." No law of state or church or school can ensure this, but only conversion and education. Whatever outward control is exercised by authority must be with the hope of affecting the inner spirit and of setting an example of sanity and winsomeness.

Fashions and foibles of dress ran riot in Europe and America from the sixteenth century onward, protested indeed by Puritan and Quaker, but ever a temptation to those of a proud and imitative spirit. Both men and women reveled in color, in eccentric cut and style, and in senseless appendages.

The French Revolution, in its insistence upon equality, cut down the fashions in all the Western world, permanently in the case of men, ephemerally in the case of women. As if to compensate for men's greater sobriety, women's dress in the middle of the nineteenth century blossomed into the most absurd and injurious forms: hoops, corset, bustle, trailing skirts, with the persistent high heels which the mistress of Louis XIV had invented to increase her apparent height. The fashions of yesterday, it is true, always look absurd to the children of today; but Dame Fashion is so arbitrary a mistress that, while senseless styles are ludicrous to the people of a following generation, the present rule of fashion seems, at least to its feminine devotees, the only admissible way to dress. As capricious as arbitrary, Fashion weaves back and forth across the road, and plunges from one extreme to another.

The most ridiculous style of woman's dress was the popular crinoline, or hoops, of the Civil War period. United to the corset, they thoroughly distorted the figure. A woman in hoops must have standing space of four or five feet, and to sit in drawing room or railroad car meant an indecent exposure. Yet so fixed in feminine esteem did hoops become, so necessary to proper dressing, that reform was most difficult. Women further encumbered themselves with heavy skirts, four or five at the least, all suspended from the hips. The heavy weight dragging down upon the already distorted abdomen contributed to functional disorders.

As hoops began to wane in popularity, the bustle and the trailing skirt came into vogue, along with the tieback. The tieback and the bustle, together created a most grotesque figure, and the long skirt, dragging in the dust and filth of the street, swept up a choice collection of the germs of which that age was happily ignorant. Yet, to that age, those dress reformers who left off the bustle and shortened the skirt appeared strangely unwomanly. So irrational is fashion.

Such a load of inconvenience, unhealthfulness, and ugliness in dress ensured a reaction in the general public, and a protest

began in the early 1850's. Some criticism had been voiced before this; but when in 1851 a member of Congress, the Honorable Gerrett Smith, declared that "a reform in the dress of women is very much needed," his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Miller, acted on the hint, and designed for herself a dress the chief feature of which was the Turkish trousers. This costume she wore on a visit to her cousin, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of Woman's Rights fame, who promptly adopted it. A third lady living in Mrs. Stanton's town of Seneca Falls, New York, Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, the editor of a woman's monthly magazine, *The Lily*, admired the dress, promptly assumed it, and publicized it in her paper.

No wars or adventures just then occupying the attention of the press, this spicy news swept through the papers of the day, and the costume quickly became known as the "Bloomer dress." Until this day the word and the article, *bloomers*, remain. In June of 1851 Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Bloomer, and a few other women who had adopted the costume, appeared in a health convention at Dr. Jackson's institution. Dr. Harriet Austin, an associate of Dr. Jackson's, enthusiastically adopted it, as did Dr. Jackson's wife, whose invalidism thereupon speedily disappeared. Dr. Austin made considerable changes in the style, however, and her adaptation became known as the "American costume." It varied considerably in different women's hands, but in general it consisted of a short jacket, a brief skirt, and pantalettes reaching to the ankles. The skirt, indeed, quickly shrank to mere kilts. But the American costume became quite popular, thousands wearing it. Some went further and wore a costume practically undistinguishable from men's dress, following Dr. Mary Walker, who, however, was independent and not a part of the reputable dress-reform movement. The American costume was enthusiastically advocated at the Dansville institution; and indeed, having seen its benefits, the physicians prescribed it in every woman patient's case.

It was equally inevitable that Seventh-day Adventists, newly aroused to the seeking after health, should revolt against the

burdensome dress of the times. That is, those who sincerely sought for reform revolted; as always, there was a trailing body of the "mixed multitude." Some of them adopted the American costume; but as that dress veered toward the masculine pattern, and moreover was widely adopted by abhorred Spiritualists, Mrs. White, at her visit to Dansville with her husband in 1865, resolved to reject its extreme and to fashion a reform dress which should strike a happy mean.

Accordingly, in consultation with some of her sisters in Battle Creek, she evolved what became known as the "reform dress." It consisted of slender trousers neatly tapering at the ankle, a skirt reaching about to the boot top, and a blouse—no hoops, no corset, no constricting bands. The limbs were evenly clothed, and the skirts were hung by straps from the shoulders or buttoned to a waist, and reached a sensible length midway between that of the American costume and the street-sweeping skirts of the ordinary costume.⁶

This reform dress may appear uncouth to modern minds; and indeed it was made sufficiently inelegant at times and places by the lack of artistry of some of the sisters who tried their hands at design, fashion, and color combinations; but the fault was not in the model or the idea. Compared to the costumes of the day, it appears, even to our sophisticated eyes, when properly designed and tailored, a model of grace. It served its utilitarian purposes admirably by its freedom from constriction and its even clothing of the extremities, and its artistic purpose by its graceful lines. If the jaundiced eyes of the devotees of fashion at that time could not easily accustom themselves to straight-falling garments, skirts which cleared the ground, and modest throat lines, the verdict of our generation's styles comes much nearer to applause.

Mrs. White recommended this dress; she did not insist upon it. She herself wore it while she was advocating it, and many followed her example; it was adopted at the Health institute. It was never intended for a uniform or habit, and the exact pattern was not insisted upon; but the principles it em-

bodied were taught. However, it cannot be said ever to have become universally popular among Seventh-day Adventist women; the current styles were too influential with them. Some enthusiasts overemphasized it, criticizing their slower sisters, and caused Mrs. White to write, "The dress reform was among the minor things that were to make up the great reform in health, and never should have been urged as a testing truth necessary to salvation."⁷ "None need fear," she said again, "that I shall make dress reform one of my principal subjects as we travel from place to place. . . . I shall urge none, and condemn none."⁸

After four or five years the idea of the special reform dress was dropped; but Mrs. White wrote, "Our sisters [should] adopt a simple, unadorned dress, of modest length," and suggested "another, less objectionable style," namely, "a plain sacque or loose-fitting basque, and skirt, the latter short enough to avoid the mud and filth of the streets," "free from needless trimmings, free from the looped-up, tied-back over-skirts."⁹ Such a dress she herself wore throughout her later life, and all her later photographs show her clothed in this neat and becoming costume.

Styles in woman's dress being the most obnoxious, naturally criticism and reform were directed mostly to them. But that the early church was not negligent of the men appears from a set of resolutions taken by the Battle Creek church in 1866. These, while bearing chiefly upon articles and fashions of women's dress, pay their respect to men by condemning shaving and dyeing the beard, and "every style which will betoken the air of the fop."¹⁰ The facts that some of the ministers, like Hutchins, were always clean-shaven, and others, like Sands Lane, yielded to the razor only after heroic but futile efforts to grow a respectable beard, were mitigating brakes to this resolution; but it is true that men who could and did grow magnificent flowing beards, like White, Waggoner, Kilgore, and Van Horn, never would "mar the corners of their beards" during this period, and they sponsored a mild reprobation of shaving. These

hirsute adornments quite relieved them of any need for the vanity of neckties; and no one, it seems ever objected to Waggoner's stovepipe hat, which helped his patriarchal distinction, though most of his brethren preferred a high-crowned, undented felt. The Prince Albert coat was the rule for ministers; and certainly none, in fond memory, ever looked like a fop.

Modern styles have taken cognizance of many of the basic principles of that early dress reform. Certainly the laws of physiology are better regarded; and if modesty is not an outstanding characteristic, at least it may be maintained within the admitted styles. Still the battle for simple, modest, healthful, becoming, beautiful dress is not completely won; it never will be so long as fashion rules the world. Seventh-day Adventist women, young and old, are noted for their comparative simplicity of dress and absence of artificiality of adornment. Cosmetics are minimized to a point that distinguishes Adventist youth in the world's multitude; the wearing of jewelry is discountenanced. Yet it cannot be said that all Adventist women exemplify completely the principles inherent in the dress reform of the early years. Whatever legislation, whatever discipline may be administered, still the prime law governs that a meeting of the requirements of the gospel demands that "ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price."

¹ Revelation 19:8.

² Ecclesiastes 7:29.

³ Deuteronomy 22:5.

⁴ 1 Timothy 2:8-10.

⁵ 1 Peter 3:3, 4.

⁶ D. E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, pp. 98 ff.

⁷ *Review and Herald*, Oct. 8, 1867.

⁸ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1, p. 523.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 640.

¹⁰ *Review and Herald*, May 8, 1866, p. 180.

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APPENDIX

Page 21.¹¹ In an address to the sovereigns of Spain, Columbus wrote thus: "From the creation of the world, or from Adam up to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, are 5,343 years and 318 days, according to the reckoning of the king Don Alfonso, which is considered the most accurate. Peter d'Ailly, in 'Elucidation of the Concordance of Astronomy with Theological and Historical Truth,' in chapter 10, adds 1,501 [years] incomplete to make altogether 6,845 incomplete.

"According to this reckoning, there are lacking but 155 years for the completion of 7,000, in which it says above through the above-mentioned authorities, that the world is to come to an end. Our Redeemer said that before the consummation of this world all that was written by the prophets is to be accomplished."—Translated from Columbus, *Libro de las Profecias*, in *Scritti*, vol. 2, pp. 81, 83. (Quoted in Froom, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 174.)

Page 25.¹ The term *singing evangelist* was invented much later. H. S. Gurney was no dilettante. He was a brawny blacksmith, six feet tall, a friend of Bates in Fairhaven. He used to sing at his forge, with the accompaniment of hammer and anvil; and when he became an enthusiastic believer in the Second Advent, Bates attached him. Through later life they traveled and worked together much. It was Gurney who paid the last of Bates's first printing bill (p. 125); the right hand never knowing what the left hand had done. Gurney remained a faithful if minor laborer in the Seventh-day Adventist communion until his death in 1896.

Page 29.⁹ Bates had been acquainted with Joshua V. Himes from his youth, and now for several years had been intimately associated with him in the temperance and abolition movements. Himes had moved to New Bedford in 1822, and united with the First Christian Church the next year. From exhorter he became evangelist, and in 1827 was ordained, and soon appointed evangelist for the southern part of the State. In 1830 he became pastor of the First Christian Church in Boston, and in 1837 the Second Christian Church, which the next year built the famous Chardon Street Chapel, where Miller gave his first big-city lectures. Bates preceded Himes in his acceptance of the Advent message by a month or two; but it was doubtless of great encouragement to him in his decision and further study that Himes, under whose preaching he had often devoutly sat, took so prominent a part in the movement immediately upon his adherence in December, 1839. (Bates, *Life of Bates*, pp. 252-260.) Isaac Wellcome, the Advent Christian historian, thus grudgingly accords Bates his place in the list of prominent Adventist workers: "Joseph Bates, an able speaker and writer, who was very useful in the work of Christ until he became a Seventh Day Sabbath advocate."—Wellcome, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

Page 36.¹⁴ The adoption of a generic name for a specific sect, such as "Christian," "Church of God," and "Church of Christ," while referable to a good intent, has proved very confusing in identification. In every case, probably, the founders did not mean to make a sect, nor to arrogate the name to themselves, but rather to establish a brotherhood in which all Christians and people of God might be included. Yet the result was confusion. There are today no fewer than five denominations who call themselves "The Christian Church," four or more which go by the name "Church of Christ," and some which claim the title "Church of God."

The "Christian" church of New England at this period arose out of the secession of some Baptists under Abner Jones, about 1815, who later joined with similar seceding bodies from the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in the South and the West. This nation-wide Christian Church in 1931 united with the Congregationalists, and the combined body is known as the Congregational Christian Church. [This group in 1957 united with the Evangelical and Reformed Church to become the United Church of Christ.—Ed.] Although in the West a part of this Christian Church, in the 1830's, joined with a portion of Alexander Campbell's followers, who generally called themselves "Disciples" but sometimes "Christians," the Christian Church of New England in the 1840's was not Campbellite, though similar in polity, and in the rejection of creeds.

Page 36.¹⁶ "It is evident that Joseph Bates and his associates thought that they were the first to organize a temperance society of this kind in the United States. 'If any temperance societies had ever been organized previous to the one at Fairhaven, we were unacquainted with the fact,' wrote Captain Bates in his memoirs. The records, however, show that the organization of the American Temperance Society in Boston, Massachusetts, had been effected one year earlier. Credit is due the Fairhaven society, however, for priority in one advanced step. They seem to have been pioneers in putting the ban on fermented as well as distilled liquors several years before the national organization, the American Temperance Society, took this advanced step."—Dores E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, pp. 49, 50. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213.

Page 40.²¹ All accounts and traditions concerning Elder Bates agree as to his benevolent attitude toward both men and women. Unlike some of his more jovial fellow workers, he never joked, but his genial speech and manners made him a most agreeable companion. In the matter of propriety he stood so erect that some felt he leaned over backward. One time he visited the Stites family out in the country near Battle Creek, Michigan. Mr. Stites

was ill. There were no sons in that family, but two daughters in their teens, the older of whom was Mary, my wife's mother, who told us the tale. When Elder Bates was to leave, the younger girl, Deborah, harnessed the horse to the buggy, to take him to town. Courteously he thanked her, but said, "My daughter, the Bible tells us to avoid the very appearance of evil. There are wagging tongues in the world, and a young woman must keep her name above reproach. Just now it is in my keeping, and I can not allow you to drive me in." So, despite their protests, he picked up his heavy satchel and footed it to town.

Page 46.⁸ Daniel Whitby, a clergyman of the Church of England, taught in the early eighteenth century the doctrine of a millennium preceding the personal return of Christ. This is the doctrine generally referred to as postmillenarianism, as opposed to the premillenarian doctrine of the second advent of Christ, before the millennium. Premillenarianism was the doctrine of most of the Second Advent writers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, in both Europe and America. Jonathan Edwards, more than any other was responsible for the overturning of the ancient belief in America and the acceptance of Whitby's theories. Premillennialism was still dominant in America in Miller's time.

Page 57.² The distinction between dream and vision is primarily that the dream comes when the subject is asleep; the vision, when he is awake but in trance. Yet because in the trance the subject is unconscious of immediate surroundings and happenings, as in sleep, the demarcation between the two tends to become blurred. "Vision of the night" is a frequent Biblical term, and is not always readily distinguishable from the dream. The dream and the vision may coalesce. A further distinction, however, is properly made—that the dream follows, though often disconnectedly, the ordinary experiences of life; but the vision presents matters outside the seer's experience, either supernal scenes, as of heaven and the immortal state of the redeemed, or symbols of time, forces, persons, and events which require interpretation. Yet to this limitation of the dream there are exceptions, as in the cases of the dreams of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, which contained symbols. This points us to a third distinction—that though all classes, good and bad, may receive impressions from God in dreams, the holy revelations made in vision are given only to those who are in close relation to God, that is, to God's prophets. Thus visions are revelations superior to dreams.

Page 57.³ "Dreams are commonly considered in all religions a means of revelation. The strange, wonderful, but often lively phenomena of dream life, sundered at the time from conscious knowledge and thought, are accepted as prophetic revelations of divinity to the sleeper. . . . In the Bible dreams appear as a means by which God speaks to man, warns him of danger, imparts knowledge, gives counsel, and directs for the future. Such dreams of instruction have been known in all times as in the present, for why should not God choose this method of communication with mankind? In the dream the inner life is often more strongly impressed than is possible under ordinary conditions, the consciousness is more easily reached than when the press of thoughts interrupts communication. In Biblical cases the suspicion of deception is excluded partly by the extraordinary divine force of the impression, partly by its appeal to the conscience."—*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 4, art. "Dreams."

Page 89.¹⁰ The Karaites are a Jewish sect (originating in the eighth century, and continuing in reduced numbers today, though at one time constituting more than a third of the Jewish people) who reject the oral law or commentaries of the rabbis, contending that all doctrine and practice should rest upon the Scriptures and the Mosaic usage. In the matter of the calendar they reject the rabbinical determination of the beginning of the year, and follow the older Mosaic lunisolar calendation. The rabbinical calendar was arranged to conform to the exigencies of a people dispersed from their homeland over the world; hence, the beginning of the sacred year was calculated upon variations of the new moon after the vernal equinox in March. This made it easier to compute in all parts of the world. The Karaites, however, who purport to be following the ancient Biblical calendar, disregard the equinoctial calculation and make the year begin with the new moon that falls at Passover, which event was determined by the time of the ripening of the barley harvest, since the wave sheaf of the first ripe barley was a part of the Passover ceremonies. Because of the variation of the moon's phases in relation to the ripening of the barley harvest, the difference in the two systems of computation of the beginning of the year was sometimes a lunar month. (See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, vol. 3, pp. 117 ff., and Froom, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 196 ff.)

Page 97.* The narrative in this chapter is based on a manuscript account written by Hiram Edson many years later, now in the Advent Source Collection, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Berrien Springs, Michigan; and upon other contemporary records.

Extended conversations and correspondence with John N. Loughborough, while still living (he died in 1924), have added much information. Elder Loughborough became a Seventh-day Adventist and entered the ministry in 1852, at the age of twenty. He was intimately associated with all the early workers, including Hiram Edson, who acquainted him with his history. He pioneered in many fields, held important positions in the denomination, and survived all his contemporaries. He was the author of the earliest histories or historical source books of the denomination (*Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists; The Great Second Advent Movement*), and his memories and reminiscences

are often illuminating, if not always absolutely reliable. His published account (*The Great Second Advent Movement*, p. 193) and his letters to me on the subject of this chapter contradict in some details Hiram Edson's autograph account, and in such instances Edson or other contemporary sources govern this narrative.

Page 101.² So says Loughborough, in a letter to me of August 2, 1921. Loughborough also says that the meeting was held, not at Edson's farmhouse, but at a schoolhouse a mile up the canal (west from town), and that Edson's experience on the morning of the twenty-third came while he and Crosier were short-cutting to Edson's farm to avoid the town. He claims that Edson's manuscript is in error here, and that their prayer in the granary occurred at a later date. Choice has to be made between these two versions. Edson's manuscript, in fact, does not say in so many words that the meeting on the twenty-second was at his house, but does say that in the morning they went out to the barn granary to pray, from which the former fact is inferred.

Page 112.¹⁰ No copy of *The Day Dawn* containing the first publication of the sanctuary truth is known to exist, though we have later numbers; but the fact that it was published is attested by Hiram Edson and by references to it by various of his contemporaries. Its approximate date is fixed by a notice in *The Day-Star* of April 15, 1845: "The first number of a new Second Advent paper has come to hand, called, 'The Day Dawn,' published at Canandaigua, N.Y., by Franklin B. Hahn, and edited by O. R. L. Crosier." Several numbers of *The Day-Star* contain communications from Crosier during 1845, before his long article in the Extra. The wider and comparatively stable circulation of *The Day-Star* made it a better medium than *The Day Dawn*, and its agency in this matter is therefore better known. *The Day Dawn* continued to be published by Crosier until sometime in 1847. By that time Crosier had repudiated the Sabbath, as later he repudiated his own exposition of the sanctuary; and wandering into vagaries, *The Day Dawn* ended its short life. Jacobs also soon departed from the forming faith, became entangled in "age-to-come" theories, and finally joined the Shakers.

Page 115.¹ This church still stands; and at the side, surrounded by the characteristic New England stone fence, is the cemetery wherein lie the pioneers: Farnsworths, Philbricks, Balls, Meads, and others. When the church was built, in 1842, it was in the center of a thriving farm community, but the shrinking population has left it to one side, deep in the woods at the foot of Millen Pond, a mile from the nearest Adventist home, the Cyrus K. Farnsworth house, where live some of his descendants. The present Seventh-day Adventist church body in Washington meet for worship in the Congregational church in the village of Washington Center; and only on special occasions is the Adventist (formerly Christian) church occupied, though it is neatly kept, and furnished still with the old-fashioned square pews, pulpit desk, cabinet organ, charts, Sabbath school bell, and all appurtenances of the modern Seventh-day Adventist church. A gallery runs across the rear, and the stove-pipe holes in the front wall suggest the typical manner of heating the churches up there in the mountains—two stove pipes running overhead from stoves in the rear. In the entryway is a wooden plaque, put up by Elgin G. Farnsworth about 1916, bearing this inscription:

"The Washington
"Seventh-day Adventist Church

"This building was erected in the spring of 1843. The contributing cause was the
"Advent Movement

"The Sabbath came to that people in the spring of 1844, when about forty began its observance. The church was organized

"January 12, 13, 1862

with a membership of 15. The officers chosen were:

"Howard P. Wakefield, Elder
Cyrus K. Farnsworth, Deacon
Joshua Philbrick, Clerk
Newell Mead, Treasurer"

Differing from this in some particulars is an account by Cyrus K. Farnsworth in the *History of Washington, N.H.* (1886), page 119:

"Seventh-day Adventist Church

"The church building was built by the Christian denomination in 1841. The principal founders were Amos Russell, Stephen Russell, Simeon Farnsworth, Daniel Farnsworth [grandfather and father of William and Cyrus], John Ball, Dea. Jonathan Clark.

"In 1843-4 a large number of the church became Adventists, and in 1845, through the influence of Mrs. Rachel Preston, they commenced the observance of the seventh day of the week, and the church property subsequently passed into their hands.

"In 1862 they were organized into a church, taking the name of Seventh-day Adventists. There were fifteen members at that time. Their present membership is 45."

Even this account by Cyrus Farnsworth, as well as the church plaque, needs some correction. The original church record book (photostats of some of the pages of which, obtained by D. E. Robinson, are in the White Publications and the Advent Source Collection) reveals that the organization of "The first Christian Society in Washington, N.H.," was on April 4, and its incorporation on April 15, 1842. It gives no indication that the

Second Advent Movement was "the contributing cause," but says: "The Society which call themselves Christian Brethren calculate to act upon liberal principles, both with regard to sentiments and enterprise, they never calculate to assume the ground, that they are infallible or too pure to unite with other societies in their worship that try to love and serve God, much less, to shunt out any society whatever that wish to occupy our houses of worship, when not occupied by us, when application is made to those who have the care of the house, upon these principles the house in contemplation is calculated to be erected." "The house is to be located about half a mile south of John Ball's, in what is called the Barney neighborhood." The site was donated by the widow of Timothy Barney. (*History of Washington, N.H.*, p. 269.)

The Second Advent message, however, did come to this land and this church in that year and the next. Joshua Goodwin reports in Himes's *Signs of the Times*, February 1, 1843, page 158, that he held meetings in that part of the country; and from Washington he writes, "My brethren and sisters generally in this place, are looking for their redemption this year." Whether all the Christian brethren received the message is not clear, but it is evident from later testimony that the majority did, and apparently they were all united in it.

However, when Rachel Oakes (Preston) brought the Sabbath truth to them in 1844, they did not as a body, "about forty in number," accept it. Frederick Wheeler, a Methodist, though he ministered to this church, was not a member, and according to his son George, did not move to Washington until 1848. D. E. Robinson says, "Of the 32 members of the Christian Society, thirteen names are scratched out with a pen, signifying removal by death or dismissal. Of these, five—viz., William Farnsworth, John Stowell, Daniel Farnsworth, W. H. Ball, and Willis L. Huntley—then or later began to keep the Sabbath. . . . Some others might be included, though positive evidence is lacking, as John Stowell . . . ; and a daughter; Cynthia Stowell, who afterward became the second wife of William Farnsworth; and also Newell and Sarah Mead."—MS. D.F. 188 in White Publications.

The earliest recorded reference to the Washington Sabbathkeepers is by Frederick Wheeler, in 1850: "A little company who have been endeavoring to keep the Sabbath according to the commandment since 1844; and several have lately been led to embrace the truth of the third angel's message in full."—*Review and Herald*, December, 1850, p. 16.

In January, 1851, James and Ellen White first visited Washington, and Frederick Wheeler afterward reports, "Several have embraced the Sabbath, and the third angel's message since you were here."—*Ibid.*, March, 1851, p. 56. Eugene W. Farnsworth, son of William, set the number at fifteen or eighteen: "Mother began to keep the Sabbath the same day that father began; and an uncle of mine, with his wife, began the next Sabbath. Very soon there was a company in Washington of some fifteen or eighteen keeping the Sabbath."—*Ibid.*, June 4, 1926.

The impression that "forty or fifty" embraced the Sabbath under the labors of Rachel Oakes (Preston) seems to have had its origin in a statement of James White, after his visit to Washington in 1867. (*Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1868, p. 104.) When the Seventh-day Adventist Church was organized in 1862, there were fifteen charter members, and in 1867 the number of members was thirty-three. (Record Book no. 1, in possession of Waldo Farnsworth, Washington, New Hampshire.) There may have been inaccurate memories and reports of the original number at the time of Elder White's visit—reports which he took at face value. Indeed, Eugene W. Farnsworth, writing his father William's obituary in 1889, said, "The year after he first embraced the Sabbath, almost the whole church, about seventy, began the observance of the Sabbath also."—*Review and Herald*, Feb. 19, 1889, p. 126. But there is no other testimony to corroborate this.

The next inaccuracy occurs in J. N. Andrews' *History of the Sabbath*, page 501 (original ed. 1873): "As early as 1844, nearly the entire church in that place, consisting of about forty persons, became observers of the Sabbath of the Lord." The usually careful Andrews apparently took the statement of James White, and naturally deduced from it that the Sabbathkeepers took in "nearly the entire church," as the Christian church probably numbered no more than this, their initial membership, according to the signers in their first church record book, numbering but thirty-two. And this statement in the standard *History of the Sabbath* fixed the idea in the minds of most, including children of the original Washington Sabbathkeepers. It would have been an inestimable service if the historian Andrews had more carefully searched the local records and received the testimony of original members then living, though in fact it is evident from their statements that some of their memories were faulty.

It is evident from the record book that the Sabbathkeeping members were dropped by action of the Christian church, some as late as April 6, 1856. The meetings of the Sabbathkeepers were held usually at the private homes of John Stowell and Cyrus Farnsworth, though at certain general meetings the use of the Christian church was granted them. (*Review and Herald*, Nov. 8, 1853, p. 140; Aug. 7, 1855; Sept. 24, 1857.) But shortly after the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1862, presumably in 1863, the meetinghouse passed into the possession of that church, with whom it has remained ever since.

Page 115.² The town of New England is the township; and the several villages or communities in the township are very generally designated by their relative positions, as South Lancaster, Lancaster (or Lancaster Center), North Lancaster, etc. The town of Washington, New Hampshire (population now about 150; summer population over 1,000), contains

East Washington and Washington Center, a beautiful little village on a ridge, amid surrounding hills, with its white houses and its civic center of town hall, school, and Congregational church, and with its bronze plaque proudly proclaiming that this is the first town in America (1776) to be named after the Father of his Country.

Hillsboro, with a half dozen divisional designations, lies about twelve miles southeast of Washington Center. Frederick Wheeler owned a farm somewhere in Hillsboro, which, however, he sold in 1844, putting the money into the Advent cause. Interview at West Monroe, N.Y., May 5, 1934, with George Wheeler, C. E. Eldridge, and Mrs. Bessie J. Rice, a granddaughter of George Wheeler.

Page 115.³ A tradition in Washington is that Rachel Delight Oakes, when she went there to teach, boarded in Daniel Farnsworth's home. Cyrus, his son, was then twenty years old. Another account, however, holds that she and her mother lived in John Ball's home. If the former account is true, Delight's mother, Mrs. Oakes, probably also lived in Daniel Farnsworth's home, which is now known as the Cyrus K. Farnsworth house.

Page 115.⁴ W. A. Spicer, *Pioneer Days of the Advent Movement*, p. 122. Mrs. Oakes is known to us as Rachel Preston. But at the time she came to Washington, and when she presented the Sabbath truth to them, she was a widow by the name of Oakes. Her daughter, Rachel Delight Oakes, then eighteen years old, had come to teach school in this district. Whether the two came together, or whether Mrs. Oakes came later to join her daughter, I have not been able to determine. Mrs. Rachel Oakes married Nathan T. Preston after she came to Washington, according to local testimony, but the exact date I have not discovered. Thus she afterward came to be known as Rachel Preston. Cyrus Farnsworth married Delight Oakes, June 14, 1847, and they had four children. She died in 1858. Cyrus was subsequently married twice, first to Lydia Knight, who died without children; and last to Harriet Camp, and they had one child, Ida. (*History of Washington, N.H.*, pp. 396-401.) William Farnsworth was married twice, and had, according to the *History*, twenty-two children; his son Elmer said twenty-four, two dying in infancy.

Page 116.⁵ Even more confused than the evidence of the number accepting the Sabbath, is the testimony as to the time when they accepted it. Was it early in 1844, before the Disappointment, or was it after the Disappointment, in late 1844 or even in 1845? The witnesses do not agree, and sometimes a witness contradicts himself. On the one side are chiefly the testimonies of D. A. Robinson, Eugene W. Farnsworth, and Frederick Wheeler.

D. A. Robinson (uncle of D. E. Robinson), in writing the obituary of Patty Farnsworth, wife of Daniel, says, "She was one of the first to embrace the present truth, having kept the Sabbath since the spring of 1844."—*Review and Herald*, May 20, 1875, p. 167.

Eugene Farnsworth says, in writing the obituary of his father, William, "Early in the spring of 1844, he, with two of his brothers, began the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath."—*Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1889, p. 126.

Elder Frederick Wheeler, in his ninety-sixth year (1906), dictated a statement to F. W. Bartle, which he inscribed on the back of a photograph of Elder Wheeler and delivered to W. A. Spicer: "In March, 1844, he began to keep the true Sabbath, in Washington, New Hampshire."—Spicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43. According to Frederick Wheeler's son George, it was in Hillsboro, not Washington, that his father began to keep the Sabbath: "Father preached it [his first seventh-day Sabbath sermon] in the Washington Barnes red schoolhouse in the town of Hillsboro, and continued to hold meetings there for some time, until the tax payers complained about it. Then Ev. Barnes cleared out his wheelwright and plow shop, and meetings were held there."—MS. D.F. 188, interview with C. E. Eldridge and Mrs. Bessie Rice.

On the other side is the testimony of Cyrus Farnsworth, of Harriet his third wife, and of Stephen N. Haskell.

Cyrus K. Farnsworth prepared a statement about the Seventh-day Adventist Church for the *History of Washington, N.H.*, in which he said, "In 1845, through the influence of Mrs. Rachel Preston, they commenced the observance of the seventh day of the week."—Page 119.

In writing the obituary of Cyrus Farnsworth, Harriet, his third wife (married September 3, 1861), wrote, "He was one of the oldest Seventh-day Adventists in the world, observing the Sabbath soon after the passing of the time in 1844."—*Review and Herald*, May 30, 1899, p. 350.

Elder Haskell, after conducting the funeral of Rachel Preston, in Vernon, Vermont, wrote that "in 1844, after the passing of the time, she introduced the Sabbath among the Adventists."—*Ibid.*, March 3, 1868, p. 190.

Forty-one years later Elder Haskell, at the General Conference of 1909, in recalling the memory of Rachel Preston, said that she told him the Adventists at Washington, before the "passing of the time," were so engrossed in preparation for the coming of the Lord that they would not read her Seventh Day Baptist literature. After the Disappointment, they were still indifferent for some time, but finally, one Sunday during service, several arose and said they were convinced. (*General Conference Bulletin*, June 2, 1909, p. 290.)

A possible means of reconciling most of the conflicting testimony lies in the fact that there were two disappointments, the first occurring in March and April of 1844 (see chapter 4), and the second on October 22, 1844. It might be that Harriet Farnsworth's "soon after the passing of the time in 1844" and S. N. Haskell's "after the passing of the time"

referred, at least in their informants' minds, to the first disappointment, in which case they could agree with Robinson, Eugene Farnsworth, and Wheeler that the keeping of the Sabbath began in the spring of 1844. But since the "passing of the time" is a phrase in Seventh-day Adventist usage nearly always applied to October 22, 1844, this is a rather forced construction. Cyrus Farnsworth's statement that it was in 1845 is from one who was a participant, and it must either be taken as conclusive or referred to as an unaccountable slip in his memory.

However, it may be remarked that other slips are observable in the statements of Haskell, Wheeler, James White, J. N. Andrews, and others whose testimony is not here directly introduced. Considering the indubitable fact that Preble began the observance of the Sabbath in the summer of 1844, as he in his prime declared, and that his conversion to it coincides with some testimony of the earlier conversion of Wheeler and the Farnsworths, who lived not far from Preble, and with whom he possibly communicated, I am inclined to accept the version that the observance of the Sabbath at Washington and Hillsboro began in the spring of 1844, as I have indicated in this text. But in view of all the testimonies, the fact is not conclusively proved.

Page 116.⁸ Rachel Harris was born March 2, 1809, in Vernon, Vermont. She married Amory Oakes, and went to live in Verona, New York. They had one daughter, Rachel Delight. Delight and her mother in 1837 became members of the Seventh Day Baptist church in Verona. In 1843 (apparently Mr. Oakes had died, though we have no record) they went to Washington, New Hampshire, the daughter to teach. There (date undetermined) Mrs. Oakes married Nathan T. Preston, and they removed to Milford, New Hampshire, according to the testimony of Mrs. Addie Farnsworth. This, however, may have been several years later, because in the church record book of the Christian church there is a notation on April 6, 1856: "Voted, to rent Nathan Preston the parsonage house one year for the sum of \$12." In any case, they finally removed to Vernon, Vermont, where Mrs. Preston had been born. There she died in 1868, and he in 1871, and there they are buried. There is no evidence that Mr. Preston was ever either a Seventh Day Baptist or a Seventh-day Adventist. At her grave, beside her headstone, is a monument bearing this inscription on a bronze plate:

"Rachel Preston

"Was used of God in bringing the truth of the Sabbath to the Adventist church in

"Washington, N.H.

"Which became the first Seventh-day Adventist church in America."

In the shifting, swirling tides of Adventist opinion after the Disappointment, she for a time declined to accept the ministry of Elder and Mrs. White; but before her death she came to the better mind, received their testimony, and died in the full Seventh-day Adventist faith, rejoicing with her last breath: "Jesus is good," "Jesus is my friend."—*Review and Herald*, March 3, 1868, p. 190.

Page 117.⁹ A typical case was that of Roswell F. Cottrell, who, accepting the Seventh-day Adventist faith in 1851, became a leading minister. He was formerly connected with the Seventh Day Baptists, but in 1844 he and his family had separated from them because of accepting the doctrine of conditional immortality, which was growing among the Adventists; yet because he kept the Sabbath and the Adventists did not, he refused then to join the Second Advent Movement. (*Review and Herald*, Nov. 25, 1851, p. 54.)

Page 117.¹⁰ Preble's birth town is next on the east to Hillsboro, and his charge at Nashua is only about thirty miles from Hillsboro. It is altogether likely that he was acquainted with Wheeler, but we have no recorded evidence. Wheeler in late life testified that he began to keep the Sabbath in March, 1844, and his son George testifies that his father preached his first Sabbath sermon in Hillsboro.

Although Wheeler is associated with two other persons, in the summer of 1844, in announcing through the *Advent Herald* a camp meeting to be held in Hillsboro, "on land of G. W. Barnes, half a mile east of the road leading from the Upper Village to East Washington," to "continue over the Sabbath" (doubtless meaning Sunday, since the *Advent Herald* would not employ the phrase to designate the seventh day), and this might be regarded as prima-facie evidence that he was not keeping the Sabbath then, it is more probable that he used the phrase in deference to popular meaning. (*Advent Herald*, Aug. 21, 1844.) Furthermore, as James White afterward explained, "As early as 1844 a few Advent brethren in the vicinity of Washington, N.H., embraced the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment. These did not see the Sabbath reform in connection with the Third Message of Rev. xiv, and not holding the Lord's Sabbath as a test of Christian fellowship, did not feel the importance of giving the light to others."—*Review and Herald*, Dec. 31, 1857.

Page 123.²¹ This house of Joseph Bates, bought from him in February, 1844, by Noah Spooner, has been remodeled by later owners, and is greatly changed in appearance. Only the two front rooms remain comparatively the same. Of these, the living room has been extended; but the study of Joseph Bates, now the dining room, about 12 by 14 feet, has not had its dimensions changed.

Page 123.²² At one time, two years after accepting the Sabbath, Elder Bates was strongly impressed that he should labor in New Hampshire and Vermont. Having no money, he determined to start out on foot. Sarah Harmon, the older sister of Ellen, having visited in Fairhaven and become somewhat acquainted, had taken service in housework, to earn some money for the cause. She was to receive the munificent sum of one dollar a week, besides her "keep." She had been employed but one week when she learned of Elder Bates's plight. Going to her employer, she asked for five dollars in advance, which he granted, and she placed this in Elder Bates's hands, which paid his fare.

The next time he had a mission he decided not to walk but to trust to Providence. Without money, he boarded the train. He had been in his seat only a few moments when a perfect stranger came to him and handed him five dollars to help in his work. (Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 265, 266; James White, *Life Incidents*, p. 270; M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 188.)

Page 125.²⁴ Bates by this time had become an extreme but successful health reformer. James White testifies (*Life of Bates*, p. 311) that when he first met Bates in 1846, his diet consisted solely of plain bread and cold water. Yet "his countenance was fair, his eye was clear and mild, his figure was erect and of fine proportions." Later Bates brought his diet into conformity with the health principles developed through Mrs. White, using fruits, grains, nuts, and vegetables in variety; but it is evident that in 1846 those who entertained him would have little difficulty in supplying his wants.

Page 125.²⁶ Gurney, back in the early 1840's, was employed as a blacksmith by a master mechanic. When Gurney became an Adventist, and decided to go with Bates on his preaching tour to Maryland, his employer was so incensed that he refused to pay him his accumulated wages. It was this debt that he now paid. The Lord, we may say, had kept it in escrow over the disappointment to help start the third angel's message. (*Review and Herald*, June 28, 1923, p. 9.)

Page 130.³⁰ The doctrinal aspects of the Sabbath will be found in such works as: J. N. Andrews, *History of the Sabbath and the First Day of the Week*; Robert L. Odum, *Sunday in Roman Paganism*; R. F. Cottrell, *The True Sabbath*; A. W. Spalding, *The Sabbath and the Sabbath Day*; M. C. Wilcox, *The Lord's Day the Test of the Ages*; Carlyle B. Haynes, *From Sabbath to Sunday*; Walter E. Straw, *Origin of Sunday Observance*; Ellen G. White, *Education*, pp. 250-252; *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 4, pp. 349-368; *Patriarchs and Prophets*, pp. 44-51; *The Desire of Ages*, pp. 281-289; *The Great Controversy*, pp. 54-60, 433-592; and *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, pp. 154-176.

Page 135.⁵ "The history of the doctrine of evolution is the best illustration of its formula. It has evolved from the frank atheism, agnosticism, and confused theism of Lamarck, Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and more modern contributors, into a multifaceted belief that varies from gross atheism through deism into Bible-believing theism. Probably the majority of Christians today acknowledge that a Higher Intelligence has brought our world into existence. They do not, however, agree that He brought it into existence as He says He did. And since evolution has saturated the churches, the evolutionist churchman claims allegiance also to the Christian God. He conceives of the Creator as having directed the evolution of man upward through various lower animals to some 'primitive' human such as Java Man to whom He gave a soul and then adopted as His son. To the theistic evolutionist this earliest human was the Adam of Genesis.

"Many fine Christian people accept man's origin through evolution because they believe that the majority of scientists of our day must be right when they proclaim that man is actually no more than a noble beast. These Christians see Genesis 1 and 2 as merely an allegory. However, nowhere in the Scriptures is an origin of living things through evolution ever even hinted. All the authors of the Bible accept the Genesis account of the origin of living things by special creation as historical fact. Jesus Christ Himself rejected the idea of evolution. We read in Matthew 19:4 that He asserted that man was made in the beginning male and female. The Bible shows us that Christ died, not to save a noble animal, but to redeem fallen man, a race made by special creation in the image of God. A belief in evolution compromises both the majesty of the Creator and the dignity of the being who was formed in His image. The concern of those who accept the literal reading of Genesis is over their theistic friends who have accepted the evolutionist falsehood, or lie, because Revelation 22:15 states very clearly that those who believe a lie will, in the final restitution, find themselves outside the city of God."—From a letter by Frank Lewis Marsh.

Page 140.¹⁵ The visions of Ellen Harmon White in her early career were distinguished by such physical evidences of supernatural control, easily tallied with Biblical accounts of similar phenomena in the cases of prophets, as to establish her divine credentials with those who sought such corroboration. Thus, like the prophet Balaam, her eyes remained open during the vision. (Numbers 24:3.) Like the prophet Daniel, there remained in her at first no strength, then she was supernaturally strengthened; and, though she spoke, no breath could be detected in her. (Daniel 10:8, 16-19; see Loughborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-211; Arthur L. White, *The Prophetic Gift in Action*, pp. 3-5.) But the real test of her authenticity lay in the character of her teachings, referable to the instruction received in vision, and to their harmony with the Bible.

Page 150.³¹ For doctrinal and practical presentation of the subject of the prophetic gift, see the following works: Arthur G. Daniells, *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy*; J. N. Loughborough, *The Prophetic Gift in the Gospel Church*; Carlyle B. Haynes, *The Gift of Prophecy*; Trustees of the Ellen G. White Publications (4 pamphlets.), *Prophetic Guidance in Early Days*; *The Prophetic Gift in Action: The Custody and Use of the Ellen G. White Writings*; *The Ellen G. White Books*; Martha D. (Byington) Amadon (pamph.), *Mrs. E. G. White in Vision*; W. A. Spicer (pamph.), *Writings of the Spirit of Prophecy*; L. E. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 4, pp. 964-1019; 1138-1151.

Page 167.³⁰ Of the non-Sabbatarian churches, the Advent Christian Church shows the greatest vitality, having maintained an average membership of more than 30,000 since 1943. In 1948 the membership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the United States and Canada was 232,196; and in the whole world, 628,594. [In 1960 the membership was 329,309 in North America, and more than a million in the whole world.—Ed.]

Page 174.¹⁰ God speaks to men in terms of their knowledge and experience, that they may understand something of the heavenly mysteries. If He should use terms which comport with the transcendent science of heaven, they would be unintelligible to man. Even in human affairs science advances, so that the terminology of today would be beyond the comprehension of the men of yesterday. Speak to George Washington or Daniel Webster of communication by radio or long distance, or tell them of records made not by the pen but by the phonograph needle on composition disks, so that the voices of the dead can speak to us, and they would register only bewilderment. What heaven's actual instruments of record may be we do not know: to us they are "books" because books were, until recently, our only form of record, and even now are the most common. To modern minds, books of heaven, written perhaps in human language, to record the history of all time and all persons, seem cumbersome, crude, and incongruous. Certainly God has a shorthand or a phonograph or a memory system that is infinitely beyond human comprehension; therefore the records of heaven are to us, as to our fathers, "the books," as symbols of the accuracy and surety of the library of God.

Page 191.³ Gurney, the devoted companion of Bates, had accepted the visions even before his leader. He heard Ellen Harmon in New Bedford on her first visit there, and learned her address. He was impressed with her appearance and conduct, but fearful of current fanaticism, he reserved judgment. Said he to himself, "If this is something the remnant must meet, I must know where it came from." Accordingly he made a journey to Portland, Maine, introduced himself to Robert Harmon, the father of Ellen, and told him he had come to make their acquaintance, especially Ellen's. He observed with satisfaction the family's humble, God-fearing life. Spending several weeks in Maine, he visited a number of places where Ellen was known, and where everyone testified to her devoted, self-sacrificing character. Gurney became a convert and a promoter. "I found a brother," he says, "who was willing to pay one half the expense of printing her first vision." That brother was James White. The two men brought out as a "broadsheet" (a sheet printed on one side) the first vision of Ellen Harmon and briefs of two later visions. This was in April, 1846, before her marriage to James White. Aside from two communications to Jacob's *Day-Star* in Cincinnati, this was the first time that Ellen Harmon appeared in print. Gurney thus became a friend and sponsor of her and her work before Bates. He must have been a good blacksmith; he was always able to find some money for his worthy causes. (*Review and Herald*, Jan. 3, 1888.)

Page 197.⁸ The identity or location of this house in Rocky Hill has been a clouded issue. Albert Belden owned considerable property there, two miles from the village, eight miles from Middletown. Three farms are identified as having been his. On his home place he built and sold and built again three or more houses along the road, almost as close as on a city street. One small house, which was undoubtedly his, was several years ago fixed upon as the house in question; and the present owner, influenced by many visitors, assures you that James and Ellen White lived in the upstairs, to which he has now added about eight feet. But I measured that upper chamber: 9 by 14 feet, and at its original utmost (leaving out the partition which with the chimney confines it) it could not have been more than 14 by 15 feet, which is scarcely "large," nor capable of being converted into living quarters for three persons. The downstairs has but four small rooms, originally three, hardly enough for Belden's family as it grew. Possibly it was occupied by one of his married sons, W. C. White, after examination in 1935, repudiated this place (Letter to J. M. Wilcox, May 22, 1935, in *Review and Herald* files) and fixed upon another, a few rods east, which, however, had burned down in 1934. He saw the foundations, and believed this was the house.

However, on a visit in September, 1946, I made some investigations which altered my belief. While the ruins had been covered over and hidden in the ground, the testimony of neighbors in the first little house and of an old gentleman in town, Edward J. Stevens, whose maternal Grandfather Pasco bought this second house from Albert Belden, was that it contained on the first story but three rooms and a pantry, and in the half story above probably no more room than was in the first house. Mr. Stevens believed, on the testimony of his mother, that his grandfather bought the house in 1845. Thus it was not occupied by Albert Belden in 1848 or 1849. Mr. Stevens stated that Albert Belden, on selling, went to live in the next house beyond, which is still standing, and is of proportions more suitable to the description. He probably built this house at the time. It has an upright of two

stories, 20 by 30 feet, a rear addition 18 by 20, and a story-and-half ell 20 by 30. The second story of the upright, of those really "large" proportions, is still only partly finished, the rafters showing, though the space is divided into four rooms. Such evidence as there is therefore points to this house as being the one in which was the "large unfinished chamber" in which was held the conference of 1848, and which perhaps made the dwelling rooms of the Whites in 1849. Mrs. White does not state (*Life Sketches*, p. 123) that the "large unfinished chamber" constituted the "part of Brother Belden's house" which they occupied; that is conjectural. But as the ell gives evidence of comparatively recent erection, the upper story of the main building seems the most likely to be partitioned and occupied by James and Ellen White, with Clarissa Bonfoey and her furniture. Here in this house the first numbers of *Present Truth* were edited, wrapped, and mailed.

Page 201.¹² James White, *Life Sketches*, p. 265. J. N. Loughborough, however, writing in the *Review and Herald*, September 24, 1908, says that they occupied part of the house of Elias Goodwin, borrowing furniture from the brethren of the place. This Elias Goodwin, a pillar of the church there, had been converted in 1843, says Loughborough, from being a professional gambler. One night, at the gaming tables, he suddenly lost all interest and decided to go home. As he walked along the street he passed an open stairway that led up into a hall from which he heard some powerful preaching. Curious, he went up, took a seat, and listened, astonished, to a discourse on the prophecies of Daniel. He felt impressed that the speaker needed money, so at the close he impulsively walked up and handed him a five-dollar bill. Then, as he went down the stairs, he cursed himself for his foolishness. But he could not get out of his mind the lecture and the images on the chart. So he went back to the hall again and again, but never saw the same speaker. Nevertheless, he listened to the message of Christ's soon coming, and in the end was soundly converted. Then, several months later, the man to whom he had given the money appeared again. In the course of his address that evening he said, "On my first visit here, I had only fifty cents left. On the steamer, approaching the town, I went to my cabin and prayed. 'Lord, if my work is done, I can as well stop in Oswego as anywhere; but if there is more for me to do, open the way!' At the close of my sermon, a man handed me five dollars, and I have not lacked since. None of the brethren could tell me who he was. I should like to meet him." Elias Goodwin went up to him and said, "I am the man, and that sermon was the beginning of my conversion. I want you to go home with me." So he went with him, and they had a glorious time recounting the providences of the Lord. That was the beginning of the hospitality of Elias Goodwin, who, according to Loughborough, took in James and Ellen White. However, in his correspondence of the time James White gives as his address, "Care of Luman Carpenter."

Page 217.⁷ Saxby gave him the tract "Elihu on the Sabbath," and on a trip to Canada, Haskell left the boat five miles before his destination, went to the woods, and spent a whole day wrestling with the truth in it. Then he surrendered. (*Review and Herald*, April 7, 1896.) "Elihu on the Sabbath" (that is to say, "The Last Word on the Sabbath, by a Young Writer," Job 32:1-6) was written by a young Seventh Day Baptist, Benjamin Clark. (R. F. Cottrell in *Review and Herald*, April 1, 1880.) It was a clear-cut, concise, telling argument for the Sabbath, and made one of our most popular tracts, for all its anonymity. We young folks in the old days often wondered who that Elihu was.

Page 219.¹² J. O. Corliss, an early worker and companion of these men, tells a nimble story of this interview (*Review and Herald*, Oct. 11, 1923), which well illustrates Cornell's impetuous nature, a story which I am tempted to give verbatim; but in view of letters in the *Review and Herald* (Sept. 16, 1852, pp. 79, 80) from M. E. Cornell, his wife Angeline M. A. Cornell, and her father, Henry Lyon; of a letter from J. P. Kellogg (*Review and Herald*, Jan. 6, 1853, p. 136); and of a report from Joseph Bates (*Review and Herald*, July 8, 1852), Corliss' story seems somewhat apochryphal, perhaps due to the natural accretions of seventy years around the core of a single memory. I have therefore combined the accounts in what seems a rational form and sequence. Loughborough has still another account. Corliss has Cornell deciding in that first hour when he interviewed Bates, while Angie waited for him, and then they drove on fully convinced and ready to preach. But, in a reply to Joseph Marsh, editor of the *Advent Harbinger* (*Review and Herald*, Sept. 16, 1852, p. 78), Corliss says that he took two weeks to study and decide on his course, and "four days of the time, I was constantly engaged in the most thorough investigation, listening to ten lectures from two to four hours in length, and continuing my search until 11 and 12 o'clock every night." So it seems that his own final decision was made after Bates' visit to Plymouth, when his father-in-law and J. P. Kellogg also decided.

Page 222.¹⁴ The Washington, New Hampshire, church was prior to it; but that was built as the Christian church, and was known by that name long after 1844. It was retained by the Sundaykeeping members of the congregation; but much later, in 1863, it was turned back to the Sabbathkeeping group. The Bartle Creek, Michigan, church, sometimes claimed as the first, was built in 1855-56; Buck's Creek, in 1855. It was a small church, 20 by 30 feet, with a rear extension of fifteen feet. About 1907 it was sold to a man named Spears, who tore it down and used the lumber for a farm building. Nothing but the loose stones of the foundation now remain.

Page 226.¹⁵ M. E. Olsen, *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, p. 238. The cowboys dubbed Lawrence, "Old Horn." After he left, a preacher one Sunday was attack-

ing him vigorously when one of a group of cowboys outside called through the open window, "Parson, you wouldn't dare talk like that if the Old Horn were present; and inasmuch as some of his friends are here, the less you say against him, the better it will be for you." The remainder of the sermon was benign.

Page 228.¹⁸ Philander H. Cady joined the Seventh-day Adventists in 1855 under the ministry of J. N. Loughborough. He was a carpenter, afterward a minister; he was also an accomplished violinist, and conducted "singing schools." In an adjoining schoolhouse John G. Matteson, too, conducted a "singing school"; and as he likewise was a good violinist, the two became friends. But in theology they were opposed, and spent long hours discussing points of faith. When the argument waxed warm, Philander would end it by saying, "Let's play and sing." Finally Matteson determined he would blast the Sabbath nonsense out of Cady; so he came on the Sabbath with both barrels loaded. After a long tirade, during which Cady kept silent, Matteson took breath and asked, "Now what do you think of your seventh-day Sabbath and your third angel's message?" Philander Cady replied, "I think it is God's truth, and I shall continue to believe it." Astonishingly, Pastor Matteson said, "I am with you." They knelt together and prayed God to keep them true and faithful. Matteson announced a series of sermons to his church, in which he presented his new faith; and at the close his whole church rose and with one voice said, "We are with you; we will keep it too." And a new Seventh-day Adventist church was born. (M. E. Cady letter, Jan. 22, 1947.)

Page 245.¹⁹ The common tradition among Seventh-day Adventists is that this third stanza refers to J. N. Andrews. Andrews had not at that time, however, come to the stature which he afterward attained; nor did the stated conditions well fit his case, for most of his friends went along with him. He did doubtless resign pleasure and the hope of honor, but certainly not wealth, unless in anticipation. It is a question whether Annie had him in mind.

Another tradition is that the stanza refers to Uriah Smith, Annie's brother. But at the time she wrote the poem (*Review and Herald*, Aug. 19, 1852), Uriah had not yet made his decision to unite with the Sabbathkeeping people; therefore, it cannot refer to him.

Here is a tale told me by Mrs. Genevieve Webber Hastings, daughter-in-law of that Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Hastings who figure so largely in the early spiritual friendships of James and Ellen White. The Webbers, as well as the Hastings, lived at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, seven miles from West Wilton, the home of the Smiths, and the families were well acquainted. Mrs. Rebekah Smith, the mother of Annie and Uriah, frequently visited the Webber home, and they visited hers. In her old age she told Genevieve, "In that third stanza Annie really meant herself; but she said she couldn't write 'she' and keep it in harmony with the first two stanzas; so she wrote 'he,' and let the brethren think it meant whomever they wished."—Statement of Mrs. Genevieve Hastings to me, at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, May 21, 1947. The stanza really fits the experience of Annie, and to quite a degree, later, that of her brother; for they did leave behind "the cherished friends of early years," and "honor, pleasure, wealth resigned." And it well bespeaks the consecration of Annie R. Smith, whose whole soul was wrapped up in the blessed hope.

Page 253.²⁰ H. S. (Hiram) Guilford, the five-year-old brother of fifteen-year-old Irving, when the latter was sent on his errand in 1831, in letters written to me in the early part of 1907, furnished much information on this and later events. He was then living in Chesaning, Michigan, where he died in 1921. James E. Shultz, veteran minister, missionary, and editor, lived as a boy in the family of Hiram Guilford, and he corroborates the information here given. He states, however, that Irving Guilford did not become a Seventh-day Adventist, but that Ransom, Hiram, and Oscar did.

Page 257.²¹ One Seventh Day Baptist family in Milton who later became Seventh-day Adventists were Elder and Mrs. A. C. Spicer, the parents of William A. Spicer, eighth president of the General Conference. It was after their removal to Minnesota, where their son William was born, that in 1874 they accepted the third angel's message. One of their friends, a Seventh Day Baptist minister, D. P. Curtis, had accepted the faith, in which he afterward became a prominent worker. Spicer went to recover him. Instead, he was convinced, through study with Curtis, and he himself became a Seventh-day Adventist. He preached, and wrote for the *Review and Herald*, and was soon called to Battle Creek, where he afterward resided.

Page 259.²² Corduroy roads, very familiar to the early workers from bumping over many of them, were made of logs laid transversely on the peaty surface of the swamps, and usually surfaced with muck or earth. Their durability depended upon the character of each log; and when in time some sappy specimens rotted out, the result was chuck holes which the settlers called "thank-you-ma'ams"—a pious expletive designed to avoid transgressing the third commandment. *Crossways* was the vernacular; *corduroy*, the more authentic term.

Page 265.¹ This first successful experiment was speedily followed in other States. In the same year Vermont, New York, and Maine each purchased and put into the field a tent; and Elder White was so anxious for Wisconsin to have one that he borrowed the money and furnished it until the Wisconsin brethren could make up the amount. This tent was

used also in Illinois. Ohio soon followed; and in 1859 Iowa, to make up for lost time, was the first to put two tents simultaneously into the field. Evangelistic meetings in tents were a novelty in this western country, and attracted good audiences. Their use continues even to the present time.

Page 266.³ As a girl Alma Caviness lived in Battle Creek in the 1860's. She died May 26, 1946. Her father, a Union soldier, died in the Civil War; and the mother, who with her family accepted the faith in Ohio under the labors of J. H. Waggoner and Hiram St. John, moved to Battle Creek.

The first little meetinghouse had, in my youth, become the humble woodshed of a house on the corner of Van Buren and Cass; the second house had been sold to a colored congregation; the third house was removed and incorporated in the Review and Herald building, with which it burned in the fire of 1903. (Information from Mrs. Mary Gould Smith, aged 100, widow of Asahel Smith, son of Cyrenius, July, 1946.)

Page 294.⁴ Gurney remarks that "Bro. [Frederick] Wheeler was fully satisfied that the action of the church was in Gospel order," reflecting the somewhat balky attitude on the question of organization of that cautious pioneer, which greatly grieved James White. (*Review and Herald*, Aug 27, 1861, p. 100.) Joseph Bates's communications constantly refer to his organization of churches, with deacons and elders.

Page 295.⁷ He received credentials from the Michigan Conference, and later from the General Conference, when these were organized; but since he was the oldest and most experienced minister among them, the father of them all, who should ordain him? Above all others, he was under the ordination of God.

Page 296.¹³ To set some goal, the address recommended the following:

Each brother from 18 to 60 years, 5 to 25 cents
Each sister from 18 to 60 years, 2 to 10 cents
Both brethren and sisters, initially, 1 to 5 cents on every \$100 of property owned.

Page 300.²² The delegates present included:

New York: E. A. Poole, J. N. Andrews, C. W. Sperry.
Ohio: T. J. Butler, G. W. Holt, Joseph Clarke, H. Crow.
Michigan: Joseph Bates, J. H. Waggoner, James White, J. N. Loughborough,
J. B. Frisbie, R. J. Lawrence, J. L. Edgar.
Wisconsin: W. S. Ingraham.
Iowa: M. E. Cornell, Moses Hull. (*Review and Herald*, Oct. 2, 1860, p. 156;
Oct. 9, 1860, p. 161.)

Page 306.³² Perhaps no more scathing rebuke was voiced than that of Joseph Clarke, of Ohio, the farmer-teacher-layman who had been a delegate to the initial conference in 1860, and whose many articles in the *Review* made him practically a corresponding editor. The uniformly balanced and sensible and quiet tone of this brother's writing presented a distinguished background for his blazing indignation in this article: "From the first I have admired the plan of organization, and I have been puzzled beyond measure to see the part acted by those opposing it; especially that men of talent, of piety, of largeness of mind, should fail to move most heartily for complete organization.

"Why is it? Why don't we all hasten? Is not destruction at hand? What! can it be! Are our officers acting like the army officers at the defeat at Bull Run? Men of God! Is it so? Are the soldiers cut to pieces for want of pluck in our officers?"

"Is it possible, we exclaimed, as we read the article on Organization in No. 18, by Bro. White, that antiorganizationists still are hesitating? Why don't you come up, to a man, in this business? When I think, after all that has been said and done on this matter, how Bro. White is tantalized, how the testimony is trampled on, how the church is trammelled, how the good Spirit is slighted, oh, it is provoking, it is sickening, it is discouraging, it is positively flat, nauseous as the lukewarm water from the stagnant pool."—*Review and Herald*, Nov. 18, 1862, pp. 197, 198.

Then he used Paul's comparison of the church to the human body, and supposing a case where a body is brought broken and bruised and "disorganized" to the operating table, the chief surgeon calls upon his assistants in vain.

Page 306.³⁴ The churches which thus formed the first Seventh-day Adventist conference were as follows: Battle Creek, Burlington, Chesaning, Colon, Convis, Greenville, Hanover, Hillsdale, Jackson, Lapeer, Monterey, Orange, Otsego, St. Charles, Tompkins, Watson, and Wright, all of Michigan, and Salem Center, Indiana. (*Review and Herald*, Oct., 14, 1862, p. 157.)

Page 306.³⁵ This may seem a normal and uneventful action; but as a matter of fact, there had been great opposition to paying preachers, and there was still considerable criticism. It was "commercializing the gospel"; it was "making hirelings"; it was "doing what the churches of Babylon are doing." It was all right, perhaps, if the preacher actually would starve otherwise, to give him a dollar or two in the collection plate, but not a fixed salary, though so low as \$4 to \$7 a week.

Page 307.³⁰ The delegation to the first General Conference was as follows:

New York: J. N. Andrews, N. Fuller, C. O. Taylor, J. M. Aldrich.
 Ohio: I. N. Van Gorder, H. F. Baker.
 Michigan: James White, Joseph Bates, J. H. Waggoner, John Byington, J. N. Loughborough, Moses Hull, M. E. Cornell, R. J. Lawrence, James Harvey (of Indiana), W. S. Higley, Jr.
 Wisconsin: Isaac Sanborn.
 Iowa: B. F. Snook, W. H. Brinkerhoff.
 Minnesota: Washington Morse.

Page 308.³⁷ Compare this first General Conference, numbering twenty delegates from six of the United States, with the present General Conferences, where nearly seven hundred delegates come from every country and every people on the face of the globe, and ten to fifteen thousand people are in attendance. But "who hath despised the day of small things?" In this first gathering for organization and dispatch of pressing business lay the germ of the worldwide work now being carried on, the acorn which, in the providence of God, has developed into the mighty oak whose branches reach to the farthest limits. [Delegates to the 1958 General Conference numbered 1,160.—Ed.]

Page 313.¹ Hinton R. Helper, of North Carolina, published in 1857 his book *The Impending Crisis*, in which he boldly condemned slaveholders and slavery, and declared the purpose of himself and his people to be the abolition of slavery. In the ensuing conflict he was driven from the South, to find refuge in the nation's capital and to enter upon a distinguished career in diplomacy, business enterprise, and literature.

Page 315.⁹ The Underground Railway was the name of mystery given to the system of transporting fugitive slaves through Northern territory to Canada or places accounted safe in the North. By night in covered wagons such escaping slaves were moved from station to station, a business that was made unlawful and dangerous by the Fugitive Slave Law. The "stations" were the homes or barns or hideouts of members in the system, sometimes being attics or cellars, and the latter type of refuge, as well as the secrecy of the moving, probably suggested the facetious title "Underground Railway." The Quakers, that people of peace but inflexible conviction, were foremost in this business, but many other church people engaged in it, and some not so peaceful as the Quakers. John Brown, of Ossawatimie, who made a name for ruthlessness in "Bleeding Kansas," was of the latter type. Fiercely religious in the Old Testament tradition, he counted all slavery men Philistines, and scrupled not to kill, as he might at any time be killed, for there was a price of ten thousand dollars set on his head. He started a little Civil War all his own; and he died on the gallows after his abortive Harper's Ferry fight. While the sober sense of the nation condemned his flaming insurrection attempt, he yet became the symbol of militant emancipation; and the first camps of the Union Army echoed to the refrain,

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
 But his soul goes marching on,"

to the tune of which Julia Ward Howe wrote her "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Page 315.¹⁰ Mrs. Martha D. Amadon, daughter of John Byington, who often saw Mrs. White in vision, thus testifies of the atmosphere of those scenes: "Mrs. E. G. White was a woman very gifted in prayer, her voice clear, her words distinct and ringing; and it was almost always during one of these earnest seasons that she was taken off in vision. . . . Her appearance in vision was heavenly. . . . Her eyes were open, there was no breath, but there were gentle movements of the shoulders, arms, and hands by herself in expression of what she saw. And yet it was impossible for anyone else to move hand or arm. She often uttered words singly, and sometimes sentences, which told to those about her the view she was having, either of heaven or of earth. . . . There was never any excitement among those present during a vision; nothing caused fear. It was a solemn, quiet scene, lasting about an hour or less. . . . These impressive scenes encouraged and strengthened the faith of those present, not only in her work, but in the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever."—MS. D.F. 105 in White Publications.

Page 324.¹⁵ The office of the provost marshal returned Andrews' papers to him with the following letter, which established the order:

"PRO. MAR. GEN'L'S. OFFICE,
 Sept. 1st, 1864.

"RESPECTFULLY RETURNED TO REV. J. N. ANDREWS:

"Members of religious denominations, who have been drawn in the draft, and who establish the fact before the Board of Enrollment that they are conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms, and are prohibited from so doing by their rules and articles of faith, and that their deportment has been uniformly consistent with their professions, will be assigned to duty in hospitals, or to the care of freedmen, or shall be exempt on payment of \$300, to such persons as the Secretary of War may designate.

"By Command of the Provost Marshal General,

THEO. MCMURTRIE,
 Capt. & A. A. G."

Andrews therefore recommended as the proper course for Seventh-day Adventists to follow in case of draft:

"1. An oath or affirmation before the District Marshal that they are conscientiously opposed to bearing arms.

"2. The presentation of the pamphlet entitled, 'The Draft,' as showing the position of our people. To this it would be highly proper to add the certificate of the clerk of the church to which the drafted man belongs, showing (1) that we are a non-combatant people, (2) that the individual is a worthy member of this religious body.

"3. It may be proper to introduce the testimony of the drafted man's neighbors, showing that his life has been consistent with this declaration of his faith."—*Review and Herald*, Sept. 13, 1864.

Page 341.⁸ Smith lost his left leg from an infection when he was fourteen years old. At first he wore the clumsy "cork leg" of the time, which had an unbendable foot. Annoyed at this, he invented a pliable foot, the patent for which he sold for sufficient to buy his first house in Battle Creek. Another invention, of a superior form of school desk, built his second house, on University Avenue. (*Dictionary of American Biography*, Dumas Malone, editor, N.Y. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943, vol. 17, pp. 350, 351.)

Page 346.⁹ That house of Aaron H. Hilliard's still stands, though greatly altered outside and in. It is in the country, three miles west of Orsego. The interior of the main upright, first story, originally contained parlor and sitting room; they are now thrown into one living room. At the rear the original long kitchen has been divided. The space formerly occupied by the parlor seemed to me too small to have contained the company indicated; but, both Arleigh Hilliard and Alta Hilliard Christensen, cousins, and grandchildren of Aaron Hilliard, think it was held in that room.

Page 349.¹³ In my childhood home, as in others of our acquaintance, a familiar drink was home-manufactured "bran coffee," made by mixing bran, molasses, and a little salt, and drying them in the oven. Sassafras tea was another though less frequent concoction, since only my mother had been a tea drinker, and this substitute was not at all to her liking. Graham bread, either "raised" or "stirred," the latter a little sweetened, was the staple, and gustatory memory holds no keener pleasure than the supper of graham bread and milk, with fresh huckleberries from the swamp dropped in. My parents had not progressed to full vegetarianism, but I never tasted pork in any form until at my Gentile uncle and aunt's I one day encountered a soft, salvy piece of something hidden in the beans which was far from savory. Homemade graham crackers, tarts, and piecrusts educated our palates to refuse denatured wheat, and we did not particularly mind the half-taunting, half-affectionate epithet of "bran eaters" which some of our schoolmates flung at us.

Page 351.¹⁶ In her eighty-sixth year, at her home, Elmshaven, in California, one evening as she retired from family worship, and with her brisk, light step started to mount the stairs, I, a visitor, accompanied her across the room and offered to help her ascend. "Oh, no, thank you," she said, turning to me quickly. "No, thank you! I am very able to climb the stairs by myself. Why, I am as spry as when I was a girl. As when I was a girl? I should say so! When I was a girl, I was ill, and weak, and in wretched health. But now the Lord has made me well and strong, and I am better, much better, than when I was a girl."

Page 354.² In 1867 Kilgore was made treasurer of the Iowa Conference, which, though started as two separate conferences, Northern and Southern, was by this time united. In 1868 he acted as tent master to Cornell and Butler. In 1872 he was ordained, and began his long service in the evangelistic and administrative fields. The five who were ordained with him nearly all became distinguished in the work: Henry Nicola, a steady wheel horse whose descendants to the third generation have also given wide and valuable service; J. H. Morrison, a prominent worker, one of the founders of Union College, and father of notables; Squier Osborne, who was the first pioneer in Kentucky and the South; J. T. Mitchell, a conference president; and Jacob Hare, who also labored in Kentucky. (*Review and Herald*, Aug. 13, 1867, p. 144; June 25, 1872, p. 14.)

Page 355.⁶ Just once in his twenty years of reporting he records an attack of malaria, which he conquered in three days. He died when eighty years old, only eighteen months after the death of his wife (*Review and Herald*, Sept. 6, 1870, p. 95), and the breaking of this close and long-held tie was doubtless a highly contributory cause of his own demise. His obituary (*ibid.*, April 16, 1872, p. 143) states that he died of diabetes and an attack of erysipelas. But at a health reform convention in Battle Creek in July, seven months before his death, he gave his experience (*ibid.*, Aug. 22, 1871, pp. 74, 78; Joseph Bates, *Life of Joseph Bates*, pp. 312-316), in which he said, "I am entirely free from aches and pains." James White comments, "He then stood as straight as a monument, and would tread the sidewalks as lightly as a fox. He stated that his digestion was perfect, and that he never ate and slept better at any period in his life."—*Ibid.* Indeed, he continued to visit the churches in Michigan, as his constant reports in the *Review and Herald* indicate, the last of them being written but one month before his death. There is an inexplicable discrepancy between his words and deeds on the one hand and the diagnosis of chronic diabetes on the other.

It seems probable that the very imperfect diagnostic science of the time here made a mistake. Let erysipelas, a streptococcus infection, bear the blame.

Page 369.¹⁸ This building, when displaced by the new brick Battle Creek Sanitarium, was moved back on Barbour Street, and in the 1880's was known to us callboys, for reason undeclared, as the Club House, later as the Annex, and was used first as a nurses' home, then as one of the many cottages for patients.

Page 371.²³ It is true that some attention was given to this counsel, and in the minds of those unaccustomed to gardening it doubtless seemed adequate to the call, as similar slight exertions may in modern sanitariums. A skilled gardener, John Q. Foy, for many years pioneered in this work at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, and made the grounds and greenhouses attractive. He also was interested in helping patients assigned to him, but they were few. The tendency of the typical invalid is to take his exercise in games rather than creative labor; and physicians who themselves are not enthusiastic gardeners, having no such vision, easily yield. The possibilities in nature study, in graduated and instructive trail walks, in cultivation of flowers and vegetables, in landscaping, have never been explored very far.

Page 375.²⁴ Kate Lindsay first took "a two-year pioneer course in nursing in a New Jersey institution, where physical therapy, as well as surgery and other current approved methods, was in use."—*The Ministry*, December, 1939, p. 27. After that she took her medical course in the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor. Joining the staff of the Battle Creek Sanitarium in 1876, she took the lead in establishing the nurses' training course in 1884.

Dr. Kate was both loved and feared by her nurses, and incidentally, it was rumored among us, was the only one of whom Dr. Kellogg stood in awe. With her harsh features softened by a whimsical benevolence, her masculine stride, her dry and perspicacious wit, her sound and quick judgment, and a tongue that could lash like a bullwhip or croon the lullabies that Scotch nurses know, she was an institution in herself, of whom we all were proud and some of us afraid.

As a "callboy," or bellboy, at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, I always quickened my pace when Dr. Kate came upon the scene. Her office was at the end of a corridor passing the dressing rooms of the ladies' bath department, a rather makeshift arrangement, and the only other access to it was through a window opening on the veranda. It was too early for a telephone system in the old sanitarium; there was only a speaking tube, with a whistle, in the hall on each floor, leading to the front office; any particular message must go by call-boy. Sent to Dr. Lindsay, we boys had to halt at the bathroom door, and hammer until an attendant should come and relay our message to the doctor. One day the bath attendant, perhaps suffering from some recent brush with Dr. Kate, refused to take my message, and waved me through to the doctor's door. Upon her opening it at my knock, she was speechless for a moment, while "the sharp heat lightnings of her face" burnt over my scared boy's soul. "How did you get here?" she thundered. I started to stammer my explanation, but before I was a sentence along she grasped me by the shoulder, whisked me through the room, and with objurgations that lasted me for fifty long years put me through her window out onto the veranda. Yet at other times she astonished me by her mild and beneficent favor.

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